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SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND MODERN SOCIALISM



By the same Author :

SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN ANTIQUITY

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SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND SOCIALIST FORERUNNERS

SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND THOUGHT (1750—1860)

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM

Social Struggles and Modern Socialism

BY
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SOCIAL STRUGGLES AND MODERN SOCIALISM

I

GERMANY (1800-1847).

I. WARS AND NATIONAL FREEDOM AND UNITY

ONE of the most disastrous mistakes of German policy was the participation of the German States in the war against the French Revolution and against Napoleonic France, 1792—1815. Without the counter-revolutionary coalition wars, there would have been neither Jacobin terrorism nor Napoleonic imperialism. The German States, together with England, bore the main responsibility for the defeat or the declension of the French Revolution.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, French popular vigour almost succeeded in defeating the European coalition, and presenting the German bourgeoisie with the opportunity of winning its freedom and

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developing its industry, for under Napoleon's blows, the old German Empire collapsed, Prussia and Austria were smitten with impotence, and English competition on the Continent suffered a considerable restriction. But this favourable opportunity was lost on a generation that was neither great nor far-seeing. Sentimental loyalty, short-sighted nationalism, narrow-minded servility drove the German people back into the arms of reaction, of unfreedom, of economic poverty, although it must be confessed that even the slender reforms which Stein and Hardenberg carried out in Prussia after Jena, municipal reorganization and the so-called emancipation of the peasants (1807-1816), were only to be ascribed to the influence of the French Revolution.

Nothing but the sense of national solidarity, the impulse towards unity, remained alive—in spite of all catastrophes—in the breasts of the German middle class. After Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Moscow, this aspiration was taken into account, both by the King of Prussia (Friedrich Wilhelm III. 1797—1840), and the Czar, Alexander I., who promised the German people that Germany should be free and independent—

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a promise which the King of Prussia repeated on the 22nd May, 1815, accompanied by the promise of a just constitution.

With boundless enthusiasm, the German tribes then engaged in the so-called war of liberation (1813—1815), defeated Napoleon, saved the world markets and the colonies for the English, and the thrones for the petty princes. The reward for the Germans was: the Holy Alliance, the rule of Metternich, the muzzling of the press and of public meetings, the imprisonment and persecution of national patriots as demagogues, the division of the national forces in the German Confederation (one emperor, five kings, twenty-nine sovereign princes), the Frankfort parliament. Or as Julius Mosen lamented in his poem, "The Leipzig Battle of Nations."

Many true hearts were wanting
At Leipzig, with iron ells,
To buy a fatherland ;
A fatherland that was free.

At Leipzig lie peacefully buried,
Right many a mother's son,
Their grave-song is croaked by the raven
Which thither has flown

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What, ask you, comrades in death,
Resting beneath the sod,
What use was it that such
Streams of red flood have flowed ?

But the laments of the poets, the protests of the students and intellectuals, of enlightened citizens and political writers on behalf of national unity and freedom, whether expressed through the students' unions, the gymnastic clubs, or the Hambach festival (1832), or the storming of the Frankfort guard-house (1833), remained ineffectual, until the French people in the July Revolution (1830), and the French lower middle-class and proletariat in the February Revolution (1848), cleared the path for liberalism and socialism.

2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AGITATION

The German races emerged from the counter-revolutionary campaigns and the war of liberation, divided, exhausted, and poor. The French occupation had extorted from them in war contributions about a milliard marks; the years 1816 and 1817 brought bad harvests and starvation, the

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following years brought forth scarcity out of plenty; the purchasing power of the masses fell almost to zero; warehouses, granaries, and shops were full of provisions, but the market was without any effective demand; and English competition, equipped with the achievements of modern technology, ruined the Silesian linen industry, and impoverished the weavers, and competed successfully with Saxon industry, for the impoverishment of the nation did not permit of an expensive re-organization of industry upon the basis of machinery, and the incredibly low wages which then prevailed, rendered labour-saving machines superfluous.

Only the Rhineland and Westphalia, where the French Revolution had created freer conditions, and where French policy, with an eye to the eventual incorporation of the Rhine valley, had adopted a friendly attitude, exhibited some measure of economic prosperity and was gradually drawn into the general course of the industrial revolution.

Conditions improved after 1830—the July Revolution in Paris inspired the German bourgeoisie with fresh courage. In Brunswick, Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover, revolts broke out, which extorted some

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political concessions from the governments ; in the South German States the lower chambers became more lively ; in the Baden Diet members ventured to discuss the summoning of a German parliament. Business life also grew more animated and science was stimulated. The philosophic and sociological writer, Friedrich Albert Lange, very finely described the developments of Germany at that time in his "History of Materialism." He says : " But what so specially endeared the July monarchy and French constitutionalism to the men who now gave the tone in Germany, was their relation to the material interests of the monied classes.

"Now, for the first time, was it possible in Germany for a merchant and a promoter of limited companies like Hansemann to become the leader of public opinion. Chambers of Commerce and similar societies shot up at the beginning of the thirties, like mushrooms from the ground. In education, polytechnic institutes, schools for technical and commercial teaching, were established by the citizens of flourishing towns. . . The chief activity of governments was directed to the means of transport, and the most important

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political result was the German Customs Union (1834).” which established free trade within Germany. This period coincides with the commencement of railway construction in Germany. Noteworthy in this respect is the year 1835: it saw the first railway, the appearance of Strauss’ critical religious work, “The Life of Jesus,” which was a daring book for that time, as well as the publication of Gutzkow’s “Wally the Sceptic,” a free-thought romance which brought its author imprisonment.

At the same time natural science took a leap forward, and Germany supplied her share of great natural investigators: Liebig (chemistry), Johannes Muller (physiology), Alexander von Humboldt (geography), Karl F. Gauss (mathematics, electro-magnetism, telegraphy).

Intellectual activity as a whole turned away from extravagant, idealistic, and romantic aims. Idealistic philosophy, which placed intellectual concepts before sensual perceptions, or gave them undue weight, was supplanted by a realistic method of thinking, that is: henceforth it was averred that *being* preceded *thinking*; first, there was the thing, and then the concept or idea

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thereof. Philosophically, this means that idealism gave way to materialism.

In religious investigation this was of great importance. Whereas it used to be said that God created mankind, it was now asserted that mankind, as a species, from time to time creates God out of all the incomprehensibilities which are apprehended by its mental and spiritual faculties, out of the intellectual sediment of its experiences in, and ponderings upon, the world, out of all the moral feelings and sensibilities which dominate and pulse through its brain and heart.

Man deifies his own mind ; he makes of it an absolute and supersensual power, raised above all conditions and all limitations. Theologically regarded, this conception is atheistic, godless. Its propagator in Germany was Ludwig Feuerbach, whose chief works, " Essence of Christianity " and " Preliminary Theses," appeared in 1841 and 1843 respectively.

Philosophically, the new orientation was likewise of great importance.

Whereas it used to be thought, with Hegel, that the infinite Spirit or God created the world and governed it, or—expressed in more modern language—that an infinite Spirit

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evolved, and in the course of this evolution caused to arise the material world (fixed stars, planets, minerals, plants, animals), as external visible forms and stages, henceforth it was averred that matter has always existed, and is regulated and developed by its inherent forces : from the inorganic (the mineral kingdom) to the organic (plant and animal kingdom) ; further, that mind cannot exist apart from matter, but is either only a function of matter (that is : the brain converts sensual impressions into ideas, just as the stomach converts food into blood), or has always permeated matter, manifesting itself ever more distinctly in the organic world until it culminates as reason in man. According to the purely natural scientific and materialistic conception, mind does not exist as a special force : intellectual life is only a product of physical activity. According to the other conception, mind exists as a special force, but always and everywhere in association with matter and operates in conjunction with, or parallel to it ; mind and matter form the unified substance : the proper essence of the world. The latter conception may also be called pantheistic or monistic.

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The attack on the theological and idealist philosophy: the attack on God and the angels, went hand in hand with the attack on absolute monarchy and the bureaucratic State. It is not the king and the police who create and sustain the State, but it is the citizens, those engaged in husbandry and industry, who animate and sustain the State and society: consequently, these classes ought to govern, or at least actively participate in government.

The opposition to the territorial despots was sustained by the national movement of the German middle class to bring about a consolidation of economic forces, the national unity of the German races, and the reorganization of the German Empire to new power and brilliance.

Freethinking in religious matters instead of ecclesiastical dogma, scientific investigation instead of philosophical speculation, economic enterprise instead of State regulations, a liberal constitution in place of personal monarchy, national unity in place of provincial dispersion—such was the programme of the German middle class as from about 1830. Its spokesmen in philosophy were the young Hegelians (David

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Friedrich Strauss, 1808—1874 ; Ludwig Feuerbach, 1804—1872 ; Bruno Bauer, 1809—1882), in literature, young Germany (Börne, Heine, Gutzkow, Laube). It was a very agitated intellectual generation, interested in all human problems, but only a few of its representatives succeeded in developing their personalities and accomplishing permanent work, and even this only in exile : in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and England, whither they fled to avoid languishing in German prisons, or having their works emasculated by the censor.

This essentially liberal tendency found its most extreme expression in Max Stirner's (Caspar Schmidt) "The Ego and His Own" (1845), which repudiates all general ideas such as God, humanity, community, morality, as figments of the imagination, and perceives the sole reality in the individual and his force. "My cause is neither the divine nor the human, it is not the true, the good, the right, the free and so on, but it is solely mine own ; and it is not a generality, but is egoistic, just as I am egoistic." Stirner is the most extreme representative of individualist anarchism. This book drew a part of its polemical vigour from its author's

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opposition to the communist movement which was then emerging.

3. SOCIALIST IMPULSES : CRITICISM, POETRY, PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1825—1847

The socialist impulses, which began to be perceptible after 1842, in the Rhineland and Westphalia and in Berlin, where modern industry had gained a foothold, came from abroad. German socialism was at that time only an echo of French socialism, but in Left Hegelian circles, efforts had already been undertaken to make German philosophy the foster mother of socialism. We shall return to this question ; here we content ourselves with the general observation that since 1842 socialist ideas had been propagated in Germany, and that a socialist movement was in course of formation by the side of the national unity movement. Attention should also be drawn to the labour unrest which broke out in 1844, among the weavers in Silesia and Bohemia ⁽¹⁾.

It may be said that 1844 was the birth year of modern German socialism. In 1844, Marx

(1) " These revolts of workers. not against the Government, but against the employers . . . gave a fresh impulse to socialist and communist propaganda." MARX, " Revolution and Counter Revolution."

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began to formulate his doctrines in Paris ; in 1844, the young Lassalle, then a Berlin student, wrote to his father that the labour unrest signified the first convulsions of communism ; in 1844, Heine composed his song of the weavers, and wrote " Germany : A Winter's Tale," the prologue of which was altogether communistic ; in 1844, the Berlin Artisans' Union was founded ; in 1844, Alfred Meissner published his poems. 1844 was also the birth year of German socialist journalism. Let us enumerate some of these periodicals in chronological order :

" Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher," Paris, 1844 ; " Vorwärts," Paris periodical, 1844 ; " Weserdampfboot," of Dr. Otto Luning, Bielefeld, 1844 ; " Gesellschaftsspiegel," of Moses Hess, 1845—1846 ; " Deutsches Bürgerbuch," of H. Puttmann, 1845-1846 ; " Dies Buch gehört dem Volke," of Otto Luning, 1845—1847 ; " Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung," of Adalbert von Bornstedt, Brussels, 1847.

4. SOCIAL CRITICISM AND REVOLUTIONARY PROJECTS : GALL, BUCHNER

The first attempt to analyse the social conditions in Germany (1815—1830), was

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made by the government official and physiological chemist, Ludwig Gall (1791—1863), about the year 1824. On the one hand, he notes, poverty, consequent upon unemployment, was embracing ever-wider circles, "and threatens to plunge everybody into a common abyss." ("Was soll helfen?" "What's to be done," Treves, 1825), and, on the other hand, the granaries were full of cereals, the workshops and factories full of the possibilities of production, and the many artisans, peasants, and workers ready to increase wealth still more, but, in spite of all, the country was abandoned to poverty. Germany and likewise France and England, were then in the grip of a crisis which arose from relative over-production. The usual answer, said Gall, that riches and poverty have always existed, and that human institutions were imperfect, was not valid. Such objections were only wretched evasions. For, in truth, "the earth supplies more means of life and clothing than would be necessary to sustain double the existing population; and it is not true that there has always been such a wide gulf between the lower and the higher classes as there is now, for this gulf has widened from year to

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year with the progress of the arts and sciences, inasmuch as this progress has only benefited the higher classes." (pp. 9—10).

"These two classes," he asserts, "sharply divided by antagonistic interests, confront each other as enemies; the position of the money owners always improves in the same degree as the position of the labouring classes worsens. This transformation, as dangerous as any that has ever been, leads to disaster; it leads inevitably to the concentration of all property in the hands of the privileged monied class; to this sole class all the other classes become subservient, and even servile, and all their higher aspirations are extinguished; all civilization is being destroyed, in short, a condition is being created which will perplex the highest wisdom." (pp. 93—94). Gall then proposed to relieve the pecuniary embarrassment of the peasants by issuing corn credit notes; an improvement in the position of the agricultural population would react favourably on trade and industry.

The poet Georg Buchner (17th October, 1813 — 19th February, 1837), was for some time more interested in revolutionizing the working class, than in social reform

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measures. After leaving the Grammar School at Darmstadt, he studied medicine and science in Strassburg (1831—1833), where he doubtless became familiar with the ideas of the French revolutionary organisations, "Amis du peuple" and the "Droits de l'homme." Probably he was also acquainted with Blanqui's speech before the Paris jury in the year 1832. When he returned to Giessen in 1834, he founded a secret "Society of the Rights of Man," but, with the police hot on his track, fled to Strassburg, and then to Zurich, where he became a University lecturer and soon died.

Buchner's dramas: "Danton's Death," "Wozzeck," etc., do not contain any socialist suggestions; at the most they exhibit a lively sympathy with the oppressed classes. Only in his letters to Gutzkow do we find a number of passages which distinctly reveal the influence of French secret societies upon Buchner's republican thoughts. On the 5th April, 1833, he wrote to his family, on the occasion of the storming of the Frankfort guard-house, "It is my opinion that if anything could be helpful in our time, it is force." The German princes were not to be induced to grant reforms by any other

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means. In July, 1835, he wrote from Strassburg, "The relation between the rich and the poor is the sole revolutionary element in the world." Buchner did not believe that the goal could be reached through the enlightenment of the middle class, through the propaganda of liberal ideas. He wrote from Strassburg to his family (1st January, 1836) : "Moreover, for myself, I do not by any means belong to so-called Young Germany, to the literary party of Gutzkow and Heine. Only a complete misconception of our social conditions could make people believe that a complete reformation of our religious and social ideas is possible by means of periodical literature." Likewise he wrote to Gutzkow : "To be candid, you and your friends seem to me not to be going the wisest way to work. Society is to be reformed by the educated classes by means of ideas? Impossible! I am convinced that the educated and prosperous minority, however, many concessions it may desire for itself from the powers that be, will never give up its inner opposition to the working class.

II

GERMAN FOREIGN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETIES.

THE persecution of the champions of German unity and freedom which set in after 1815, reinforced by economic necessity, impelled many Germans to seek refuge abroad, whence they continued to work for their cause. After the July Revolution (1830), after the Hambach festival of the South German democrats (1832), which was attended by thirty thousand persons, and after the storming of the Frankfort guard-house (1833), the proscribed patriots emigrated in increasing numbers to Paris, where they found support among the advanced French elements. First of all they founded the "German Patriotic Union" (*Association patriotique allemande*) which was only concerned to further the aims of political freedom and German unity. Out of this grew the "League of the Banished" (early in 1834), which was led by Jakob

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Venedey and Dr. Theodor Schuster. Venedey (born Cologne 1805) was a Heidelberg professor. From Paris he edited the periodical "Der Geächtete" (The Banished), and sympathized with the Fourierists, while remaining a German democrat; he returned to Germany in 1848 and was elected a member of the Frankfort Parliament. His colleague in the "League of the Banished" was Dr. Theodor Schuster, formerly a law tutor in Gottingen where, in conjunction with Dr. Rauschenplat and Dr. Ahrens, he tried to provoke an insurrection immediately after the July Revolution (1830). He fled to France and joined secret societies. Already he could see the class division of society into a minority of possessors and a propertyless majority. He followed Buchez in advocating State-aided co-operative production. Schuster did not advance beyond the ideas of Buchez.

The "League of the Banished" was associated with the French society "Droits de l'Homme. In the general statutes of the League, its aims were defined as: "Liberation and re-birth of Germany and the realization of the principles set forth in the declaration of human and citizen rights."

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Just as in the French society "Droits de l'homme" there was a Right Wing (purely democratic and nationalist), and a Left Wing (social reformist and internationalist), so it was with the "League of the Banished." The Left Wing, under Schuster's leadership, organized in 1836 as the "League of the Just," was at first communist and Utopian, and then communist and revolutionary. In 1847 it was transformed into the "Communist League," for which Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto.

2. "THE LEAGUE OF THE JUST:" WEITLING.

Of the five hundred members of the "League of the Banished," about four hundred went over to the "League of the Just." Their train of thought was deeply influenced by Lamennais' "Paroles d'un croyant" (Words of a believer), which appeared in 1834 and was immediately translated into German by Ludwig Borne and widely circulated among the travelling German artisans. Lamennais (1782-1854) was a rebellious priest, who wrote in biblical style on behalf of democracy and social justice. Or, as Heine said, Lamennais put the red cap of liberty on the top of the cross.

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Schuster soon withdrew from his activity in the League. and his place was taken by Wilhelm Weitling, a journeyman artisan well read in communist literature; the latter became the real leader of the League. He was assisted by Karl Schapper (1812-1870); born in Weilburg (Nassau), Schapper studied forestry in Giessen, became a forester, took part in the attempted revolt at Frankfort (1833) and fled to Switzerland, whence he repaired to Paris, where he joined the secret "Familles" and then the "Saisons." He was not a man of science, but emphatically one of action, a conspirator, a secret leaguer, always ready to take part in a democratic revolt. His further fate is bound up with that of the Communist League. Associated with Schapper were: (1) the shoemaker Heinrich Bauer, an extremely energetic Bavarian, who was likewise active in Paris in the French and German secret organizations; (2) the watchmaker Joseph Moll, born at Cologne in 1811; came to London in 1840; joined the Chartist movement (the physical force wing); fell in the Baven Revolution 1849; (3) Dr. Aug. Hermann Everbeck (pseudonym: Wendel Hipler) of Dantzic, who lived in Paris many years as a journalist,

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yet was unable to traverse the road from Utopian to revolutionary communism ; he translated Cabet's " Icaria " into German ; (4) Dr. German Maurer, a Berlin higher teacher, who did not progress beyond the old school of communism, and from Paris wrote much in German newspapers ; he lived later at Frankfort-on-Main. But the real thinker of the League in the years 1837-1844 was Wilhelm Weitling, an able and constructive mind and a selfless character—the only really great German communist of pre-Marxian times. He was born in Magdeburg on the 5th October, 1808, learned the trade of tailoring, left his native town in 1828, worked in Saxony and Vienna until 1835, and then travelled to Paris, where he joined the " League of the Just," and most probably also the " Familles." At the request of the " League of the Just," he composed his first communist work : " Mankind as it is and as it ought to be " (1838). Following the example of Lamennais, it was written in biblical style and bore as its motto : " And when Jesu saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion for them. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the

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labourers are few." The harvest, said Weitling, is mankind ripened for earthly perfection, and the community of goods is its fruit. Mankind ought to live together according to the law of Nature and Christian love. Weitling was not, however, content with a communist sermon, but sketched the constitution of a future communist society: the organization of mankind in families, leagues of families and circles, for the purpose of a common economy and autonomous administration: agriculture and industry to be managed by elected councils and the whole country administered by a council composed of the heads of the leagues of families. The critical and constructive ideas set forth in this work formed the basis of the whole Weitling propaganda; his later writings: the "Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom" (1842) and "The Gospel of the Poor Sinner" (1843) are only elaborations of these ideas. Weitling had learnt much from Fourier, Owen, and Blanqui, but he had also thought a good deal for himself and worked on original lines; he gave the German workers a distinct vision of the future, a plan of communist organization, and taught them the employment of the

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tactics of revolutionary dictatorship during the transitional period from individual property to communism. He had taken part in Blanqui's and Barbés' attempted revolt (12th May, 1839) against the July Monarchy, from which it seems that he escaped unpunished, unlike Schapper, Bauer, and Moll, who had to expiate their participation with a long period of detention. While the latter made for London after their release and formed the central authority of the League, Weitling repaired to Switzerland to continue his agitation there: in the monthly periodical "A Summons to the German Youth, published and edited by German workers" (Geneva, 1841). A continuation of this periodical appeared under the title "The Younger Generation," which Weitling conducted. In the programme of the Summons it was stated: "We German workers also want to lift up our voices on behalf of our cause and the cause of mankind, to convince people that we have a pretty clear perception of our interests, and, without puffing ourselves out with Latin, Greek, and artistic expressions, know well enough how to say in plain German where the shoe pinches

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and what's what." Gutzkow, who quotes this extract in his Paris letters, found in one of the issues of the periodical in question a sketch of Paris in the year 2,000, which particularly interested him, and about which he wrote as follows: "To transform Paris and the world in a few centuries so that money, soldiers, and nations are no more heard of, as well as the dazzling mirage of a radical transformation in the condition of the working class and a systematically organized community of goods, is so audacious that these ideas which are seizing hold of German artisans working in Paris and Switzerland ought not to be prohibited, but seriously argued against."

The growth of communist agitation in Switzerland disquieted conservative circles, which caused the authorities to take action. In June, 1843, Weitling was arrested in Zurich. His manuscripts, letters, etc., were confiscated and handed over to the Government, which remitted them for examination to a commission, under the presidency of the well-known constitutional lawyer, Bluntschli. The report, published in 1843—the so-called Bluntschli report—however hostile the motives which guided the pen of the reporter

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—quickly became the best means of agitation for the communists, as it contained a collection of material, printed at the Government's expense, which otherwise would have only been accessible to a few. On the basis of the report, Weitling was accused of blasphemy and attacks on property and sentenced to four months' imprisonment. An appeal to the Supreme Court resulted in increasing the sentence to six months and subsequent expulsion from Switzerland. After serving his sentence, he was deported to Magdeburg, whence he travelled via Hamburg to London (where he lectured in Owenite circles), and then to Brussels and New York, where a branch of the League existed and was to be made by Weitling into the nucleus of an Emancipation League.

3. WEITLING AND THE REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP

The object of the Emancipation League was: "the establishment of the democratic communist league of families." It is democratic, because the foundation of real democracy does not consist in universal suffrage and political-parliamentary manipulations,

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but in the organization of labour and enjoyments, of rights and duties in the light of the communist objective. As this foundation can only be created by a revolution "those fighters who make the revolution will first capture the provisional revolutionary suffrage, and in armed assemblies will select a provisional revolutionary government and revolutionary arbitrators for the establishment of the new order. Only those who are engaged in socially useful occupations and display industry, capacity, and love of order will then have the franchise. Capitalists, merchants, clergy, lawyers, lackeys and similar parasites will be excluded from the franchise."

The League of Families is neither a government nor a State, but a central administration, which will direct the exchange of the goods produced ; the individual branches of industry will be administered by the councils and committees of master-workmen who will settle wages and fix hours of labour, etc.

After the victory of the social revolution, the revolutionary army will announce that henceforth the principles of the Emancipation League will govern the administration of

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the country. The proletariat will be armed, the inimical rich and the anti-revolutionaries will be disarmed ; law courts and police will be abolished ; the people entitled to vote will elect their representatives to the vacant positions. Universal compulsory labour will be decreed ; extravagance and idleness will be punished as crimes. Money will only consist of labour tokens : certificates of labour, time expended and the type of labour exerted, which will be exchangeable for an equivalent quantity of goods from the public stores. The friendly rich who support the revolution in word and deed will receive a pension adequate to their usual standard of life.

By means of the introduction of labour-tokens as money, the anti-revolutionary rich will soon be compelled to place their property at the community's disposal, as they will be unable to procure any food or enjoyments with their gold and silver. The whole of the able-bodied population will be grouped in industrial organizations, and will elect from their midst to represent their interests : committees of industry ; chambers of industry and a social parliament of the democratic-communist family leagues. These bodies will determine in all districts the labour value

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of the various products according to their quality and quantity. "The provisional government will remain in office as long as the social war lasts, and during this time will be reinforced by supplementary elections, but the social war will last as long as in any corner of the earth crowns and moneybags rule, and with their accomplices dupe the people the better to exploit them."

4. WEITLING'S LATTER DAYS

After the outbreak of the March Revolution (1848), Weitling came to Germany and attempted to carry on his activity in Berlin but in this he was unsuccessful. He then moved from Berlin to Hamburg, where he had many followers, but was thence expelled, whereupon he returned to New York. There he laboured for his ideas, and for the support of his family. Beset with cares and privations, occupied with all kinds of inventions, discoveries and projects, he lived more than twenty years longer and died on the 25th January, 1871. He was one of our greatest and our best, and sufficient justice has never been done to him. His acts were marred by an extreme self-consciousness,

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which he had in common with Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon. On the other hand, he had the virtues of the Utopists: constructive gifts and a selfless, self-sacrificing character. It speaks much for Weitling's greatness that his writings may be read with profit even to-day.

5. THE "JUST" BECAME THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Schapper, Bauer, Mall and their comrades, who had been imprisoned for the part they took in the Paris revolt of the "Saisons," were released towards the end of 1839. They betook themselves to London, and on the 7th February, 1840, founded the German Workers Educational Union—afterwards known as the Communist Labour Educational Union—which became the centre of the communist agitation amongst the emigrant German workers.

Several branches of the League were formed in London. They came into touch with the Chartist movement, and gradually became acquainted with the democratic, social and political trend of ideas as it developed in the course of the economic revolution and

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in the course of modern English history. Here the League members came for the first time into contact with a publicly directed social-democratic Labour movement, and this also led to the establishment of an international association of the socialists and democrats who had found refuge in London. This was the "Democratic Brotherhood," which consisted of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Poles, etc., and which spread social revolutionary ideas by speech and writing. The German Labour Educational Union likewise became a second home for all non-German socialist artisans and workers who were temporarily sojourning in London. From this vantage point, the central authority of the "Just" maintained communication with the comrades in Paris, Brussels, Switzerland, and Germany, and followed the progress of communist doctrines as elaborated in the Paris "Vorwärts," the Elberfelde "Gesellschaftsspiegel," and similar publications, its attention being gradually drawn to the views spread by Marx and Engels. In addition, Friedrich Engels, who arrived in England at the end of 1842, was in touch with the central authority as well as with the Paris League branches, where

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the ideas of Cabet, Proudhon, and Weitling had the upper hand, and new conceptions were discouraged. Besides Everbeck, there were active in Paris Dr. Karl Grün and Moses Hess, The latter may be regarded as the real *liaison* member, the intellectual bridge between critical-Utopian and Marxian communism. Consequently he deserves a somewhat longer mention, and further reference is made to him in the next chapter.

The intellectual centre of the League was in London, where the essence and aims of communism were keenly discussed and investigated. The partly printed and partly lithographed correspondence which Marx sent from Brussels to members of the League assisted the Londoners to find their feet. Thus it came about that in November, 1846, the central authority (Schapper, Bauer, Moll), sent a circular to the members, clearly explaining the proletarian-communist questions connected with the objects and methods, and these questions were expanded in a further circular dated February, 1847. In the meantime (January, 1847), the Londoners had sent their representative, Joseph Moll, to Marx and Engels at Brussels, in order to enlist their co-operation.

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As this brings us to the eve of the composition of the Communist Manifesto, (1848), we must glance at events in the German States between 1840 and 1847.

III

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN GERMANY (1840-1847)

I. STORMY PETRELS

KING FRIEDRICH WILHELM III., who had reigned in Prussia for over forty years, died in 1840; his successor was Friedrich Wilhelm IV. (1840—1858), a man of intellectual gifts, but unstable character, who sought to conciliate all tendencies, and quarrelled with all, as he lacked consistency, as well as insight into the position of the nation, or did not possess the strength to cast off the prejudices in which he was born and brought up.

He had much goodwill, without, however, the steadfast purpose to carry it into effect. With such a character it is always the traditional prejudices which are the most firmly rooted, and, therefore, overcome all new ideas and perceptions.

Upon the first beams of hope of the new era, which inspired with fresh courage the

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intellectuals, the young Hegelians, and Young Germany, followed bitter disillusionment, which found strong expression in the political lyrics of Herwegh, Prutz, Sallet, Heine, and Freiligrath. In the forties, German political poetry reached a high level. Even more than the classical period at the end of the eighteenth century, it drew its strength from the rising tide of material prosperity and national consciousness, on the one hand, and from the political and intellectual oppression, on the other :

Demagogues ; Jacobins,
This people is getting ever bolder
And the Young Hegelians
Who search the heart of wisdom,
Who criticize the sacred so audaciously,
Announcing new truths to the world,
And with wanton looks adore
The shameless, sprightly stars,
And reason, that naked whore,
Proclaiming them the new gods !
Strauss and Feuerbach and Bauer
Send through us a holy shudder.

(Rudolf v. Gottschall).

And to the overwise, who put their trust in organic development, from which

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they expect everything, Friedrich von Sallet replies :

You tell us : young men, whose blood is
overheated,

Renounce your enthusiastic dreams of
freedom,

The good only develops itself in the course
of history !

Yet, is it history where nothing happens ?
History means the storming of bastilles,
And the Convention's stormy debates.

" The question of socialism," wrote Karl Grün in the year 1845, " is beginning to be a practical one, even for Germany. Journals which never betray a suspicion of it re-echo the pregnant words : rising of the proletariat, organization of labour, nationalization." With remarkable rapidity the industrial development was reflected in poetry, which dealt both with the lights and with the shades of the new economic picture :

And in the town's steam-enveloped midst
How the flame flares from a thousand
chimneys,

Unwinding itself in purest forms !
(*Georg Weerth*, Puttman's "Burgerbuch," 1845)

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And in Austria, Karl Beck hailed the railways as a factor making for the brotherhood of nations :

These tyres—nuptial ribbons,
Betrothal rings—all shining from the foundry.
Fondly the countries exchange them,
And thus the marriage is concluded.

Yet the economic picture revealed few lights in the German States. The poets, more or less inclined to social criticism, turned their attention to the modern poverty. In the first place, the social-critical tendency came from France. Heinrich Heine's Paris letters to the "Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung" (1841—1843) upon the political and social conditions in France gave rise to further study of French Socialism. Although Heine was primarily an artist and an aristocrat, his sensitive social-ethical conscience impelled him to devote his attention to French communism. Neither could the numerous German refugees who lived in Paris, and were engaged in journalism, avoid concerning themselves with the socialist literature and movement. In 1842 there appeared Dr.

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Lorenz von Stein's "Socialism and Communism in Modern France," in which the class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the people, which had been notorious since 1831, is admirably worked out. Stein's work is strangely unequal; many parts are brilliantly written, others—particularly that relating to communism—might have been compiled by any police agent.

In any case, it contributed a great deal to the spread of social-critical ideas in Germany. More effective still was the propaganda of Moses Hess, who, as we shall see in the following section, had been busy since 1839 in the endeavour to link up socialism with the intellectual activity of the young Hegelians. The revolt of the Silesian weavers in 1844 provided social poetry in Germany with a topical interest. Through their translations of English social poetry, Georg Weerth and Ferdinand Freiligrath acquainted the German reading public with the dark side of industry, "the goddess of our time" (Weerth). But Weerth had already perceived:

Labour's lot that no one minds to ease
Is that which will roll the stone away.

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In Austria Alfred Meissner and Karl Beck were arousing the social conscience :

Other children, a pale brood,
I saw where the tall chimneys smoked
And the iron wheels in the glow
Stamping out a slow-timed dance.

Meissner also performed notable work in his "Ziska," in which he emphasized the social-ethical ideas of the Tabor Hussites. His faith in the eventual redemption of mankind from spiritual and material need was unshakeable :

" And the promised hour shall come, when all the alien powers will fall down before the spirit. The spirit is poured out on the poorest and the least. It comes, it comes, the Pentecost promised by the new knowledge . . . And, as he approaches, the new saviour, who will break the heritage of sins and necessity, who will speak of the just division of labour, who will extend equal fraternity towards all the children of man, then wilt thou arise, transfigured, engarlanded, more lovely even than the Christian cross."

Karl Beck, in the poem, " Why are we

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poor? ” makes the poor exclaim to the rich :

We borrow and sorrow, you heap up the
 guilders,
We fill the churches and pray and have
 patience,
And this patience is aught but our endless
 guilt,
And—therefore are we poor.

Above all contemporary poets towers Heinrich Heine, this immortal poetic genius : Greek in his art, Jew in his social ethics :

“ If I had lived in Rome in the time of the Emperor Nero,” wrote Heine on the 15th June, 1843, to the ‘Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung,’ “and acted as correspondent for the General News journal of Boætia, my colleagues would not seldom have chaffed me for omitting to report anything about, for example, the political intrigues of the Dowager Empress . . . and for constantly talking about those Galileans. . . . My well-instructed colleagues would have laughed at me with particular irony if I had been unable to relate anything more important about Caesar’s banquet than that some of those

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Galileans were smeared with pitch and set fire to, and in such wise illuminated the gardens of the golden palace. But this witticism would have missed fire; those martyr torches emitted sparks whereby the Roman world and all its worm-eaten brilliance were consumed in flames." Heine intends to indicate the importance of his news about the French communists.

Three years before, in his book upon "Ludwig Börne" (1840), Heine had observed: For me

"The most remarkable verses in the 'New Testament' are the 12th and 13th of John, chapter xvi.: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you unto all the truth: for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he shall declare unto you the things that are to come.'"

The last word has therefore not been said, and here, perhaps, is the link to which a new revelation will be attached. It begins with the redemption of the world, makes an end of martyrdom, and establishes the kingdom of everlasting joy: the millennium.

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At last all promises are amply fulfilled.
It is the third gospel of social peace, of
common labour, of fraternal co-operation :

Upon the rock we shall build,
The church of the third,
The third new Testament ;
And all tears are wiped away.

2. SOCIAL CRITICISM : HESS, GRÜN

While the German journeymen artisans were bringing to Germany the socialistic doctrines of the Fourierists and Saint-Simonians, German thinkers were endeavouring to deduce socialism from German philosophy, from Hegel and Feuerbach, and to create a German socialism.

The most important among them, until the appearance of Marx, was Moses Hess, the pioneer of socialism in the Rhineland.

Hess was born in Bonn on the 21st January, 1812. In his parents' house, in an atmosphere of Jewish piety and learning, the boy grew up, attended the school, and at the same time was directed by his grandfather to the coming of the Messiah. Meanwhile, his father had founded a sugar factory in Cologne, and in

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1826 attempted to draw Moses into the business, and educate him as the future director of the firm.

But the counting house did not appeal to the lad ; he wanted to study. Already he had read the writings of Spinoza, whither Jewish youths were wont to turn when they strayed from parental faith. In 1830 he attended for some time the University of Bonn, and seems to have thought a good deal about religious problems ; he read diligently the gospels and ecclesiastical history, cast off the orthodox Jewish prejudice against Christianity, whereby he became more and more alienated from his parents' house. He fled abroad, where he remained for some time, but was soon obliged to return, owing to his lack of means of support.

It is not known whether during this journey he came into contact with social revolutionaries, and received from them the new tidings, the third gospel. It is, however, certain that from 1835 onwards he paid considerable attention to social-religious and Hegelian ideas ; the fruit of this reflection is his " Sacred History of Mankind " (1837), in which the various epochs of history are treated in a mystical-religious manner as

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stages in the development of mankind towards spiritual and material unity and harmony. The expression "socialism" or "communism" does not occur therein—plain speech was then very dangerous—Hess only refers to the "new sacred constitution," which would impart to mankind a consciousness of unity and of the "holy people's State." Four years later he published "The European Triarchy" (1841), wherein he expounded the idea that the salvation of mankind was dependent upon the union of German philosophy with the French revolutionary spirit and the English practical reforms. As already mentioned, the same year saw the appearance of Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity," which made a deep impression upon Hess, and soon enabled him to throw a bridge between German philosophy and socialism. It was only an emergency bridge, and did not last long, for Marx very soon appeared, and, with the help of the Hegelian dialectic, constructed his system which will be summarized in one of the following chapters. Hess deduced, or rather excogitated, socialism out of Feuerbach in the following manner: Feuerbach showed that religion was only a glorification of the spirit

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of man ; the correct perception of God is the acknowledgment of the real man. To this Hess added : not the individual man, but the human species in its social relationship, in its social harmony of interests ; the real theology is benevolence and human co-operation. Or all religion is social ethics.

It is easy to see that Hess's entire deduction was a forced one, but at that time (1841—1845), it found support, because it brought socialism into connection with young Hegelian philosophy and religious criticism.

It was Hess who inspired Friedrich Engels with these views, and introduced him to socialism when they met in Cologne towards the end of 1842. Hess was unable to convince Marx in this way. Marx was too well-read in philosophy to be imposed upon by mere hair-splitting. About that time Hess was a contributor to the " Rheinische Zeitung," which Marx edited. In the winter of 1842—3 Hess journeyed to Paris where he consorted with members of the League of the Just. Then he wrote for various German socialist periodicals, became a disciple of Marx in 1846, and in 1847 wrote for the " Deutsch Brüsseler Zeitung " some brilliant articles upon " the consequence of the revolution of

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the proletariat," which are much better than Engels' sketch of a communist manifesto. Hess's essays read exactly like a popularization of many chapters of Marx's Communist Manifesto, which, however, was not written until several months later ; they were most probably a product of the Lectures which Marx had delivered in 1847 to the Brussels Labour Association, and of the discussions which arose out of these lectures.

The last two decades of Hess's life were occupied with Jewish-national, social-democratic, and scientific questions.

Hess was a thorough-going humane socialist, tolerant, peace-loving—a Nazarene. As a young man he had married a German prostitute, with whom he lived happily to the end of his life ; he treated her with invariable respect and love. Mourned by her and by his friends, he died in Paris on the 6th April, 1875.

A follower of Hess was the above-mentioned Karl Grün (1813—1884) ; originally a philologist, then a journalist, writing upon humanitarian-socialistic subjects from 1844 onwards, he too found a temporary harbour in Paris, instructed Proudhon in German philosophy, consorted with Considérant and

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Cabet, and from the Rhineland exercised a considerable influence. His socialism dissolved in love: in benevolence and justice; he also took Feuerbach for his starting point. Grün wrote: "The last result of the "Essence of Christianity" is this: love must take the place of faith . . . The essence of Christianity is the heart, is love, of which it only remains to give a practical proof."

IV

KARL MARX

I. HIS SIGNIFICANCE

IN the midst of the elaboration and propagation of the ideas and projects of French socialism, and the gropings after, and speculations upon, a philosophic basis for socialist ideas, Karl Marx was busy in Paris formulating his doctrines, which were to supplant all other socialistic systems, and to become the common property of all socialists and thinking proletarians. Since then socialism has become the concern of the working class, and the working class the chief concern of capitalist statescraft.

Before Marx the proletariat was the Cinderella of politics, the object of the sympathy of sociologists; after Marx, it became a pretender to the Crown, a nascent ruling class, the destroyer of the old, and the builder of the next stage of society.

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Before Marx socialism drew its strength from the Golden Age of prehistoric times, from natural law, from primitive Christianity, from humanitarian ideas, from social ethics. Since Marx socialism has been a proletarian-revolutionary policy of the present, aiming at the furtherance of all the material and intellectual tendencies of the body politic, which point to the socialization and working class control of the economic forces. Before Marx socialism represented the millennial hopes, which the dead and the pious in the land set upon the Third Testament; since Marx socialism has been the political and economic aim of great and growing militant parties and classes.

Marx found socialism an article of belief or a dogmatic, fixed, eternally valid doctrine; he made it a living force in the transition of society from private property to common property.

The working class and socialism were formerly separated; Marx welded them together as body and soul; he breathed a soul into the proletariat.

Intellectually, the modern proletariat is the monumental work of Marx. Only he was precluded from executing it in all its details.

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This task, however incomplete it may be, was performed by Marx because he was able to see through all the confusing medley of phenomena and incidents, to penetrate to the essence of things, and to grasp the pervading principle of modern times. This penetrating glance, before which all masks, all phrases, all hypocrisies, all objective disturbances, all refractions were dissolved and dispersed like the mist before the sun, shows the genius of the intellectual hero.

2. MARX AND THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC

Marx was born at Treves on the 5th May, 1818. His father was a lawyer, and came from a Rabbi family. In 1824 his parents were converted to Christianity. Karl attended the grammar school of his native town, then the universities of Bonn and Berlin, and in 1841 the degree of doctor of philosophy was conferred on him at Jena. He thought of settling in Bonn as a university tutor, but soon perceived the hopelessness of his plan. He became a journalist, then a contributor to the "Rheinische Zeitung," which was founded in Cologne in 1842, and finally the managing editor of this journal,

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which, however, was persecuted and muzzled by the censor in consequence of Marx's articles. Marx retired from the editorship in 1843, married Miss Jenny von Westphalen, and in the late autumn of 1843 removed to Paris, there to study socialism and to edit the "Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbucher" (Franco-German Annuals) in conjunction with Arnold Ruge, a young Hegelian publisher and politician. In this publication, only two issues of which appeared in 1844, are to be found the beginnings of Marxism, especially in the article "A Contribution to the Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law."

We have already noted that Marx was distinguished from his predecessors by the fact that he brought together socialism, the militant working class, and social development, and welded these factors into a unified system. How did he come by these ideas?

When Marx came to Paris in 1843, he brought with him a thorough philosophical training, love of freedom, and the desire to study socialism. The mark of a cultivated mind is its facility in finding a direction; it is the capacity of detecting what is essential amid diverse and manifold phenomena, and discovering the connections among

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phenomena. This capacity Marx possessed in a high degree. What did he find in Paris? A medley of socialist ideas, Fourierist projects and Saint-Simonian opinions, as well as proletarian-revolutionary traditions from the time of the French Revolution, of Babeuf's conspiracy, and Blanqui's secret societies. It goes without saying that he was also acquainted with English Chartism, which had reached its zenith in 1842. These manifold phenomena he welded together with the assistance of the Hegelian dialectic, which, as he believed, revealed to him the fundamental law of historical development.

What is the Hegelian dialectic?

By dialectics the ancient Greeks understood the art of speech and rejoinder, the refutation of an opponent by the destruction of his assertions and proofs, the emphasizing of the contradictions and antagonisms. When examined closely, this method of discussion, in spite of all its contradictory and apparently negative (destructive) intellectual effects, is seen to be very useful, because, out of the clash of opposing opinions, it brings forth the truth and stimulates to deeper thought. G. W. F. Hegel (born at Stuttgart, 1770, died at Berlin, 1831), a German philosopher

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and mystic, who introduced the idea of development into logic, seized hold of this expression dialectics, and named his logical method after it.

According to this method, each of our ideas has its opposite or contradiction, or every positive has its negation. This fact very easily escapes superficial observation. The latter, it is true, remarks that the world is filled with various things, for where anything is, there also is its opposite, *e.g.* existence—non-existence, cold—heat, light—darkness, mildness—harshness, pleasure—pain, joy—sorrow, wealth—poverty, virtue—vice, idealism—materialism, realism—nominalism, classicism—romanticism, etc., but superficial thought does not realize that it is faced with a world of contradictions and antitheses. It is only active and critical reason that reduces the mere multiplicity and diversity of phenomena to antitheses, to contradictions, to a clash of the negative with the positive. It is only when this clash, this struggle of contradictories, takes place that there arises something higher. What Hegel understands by contradiction is not the result of confusion: it is not obscure and self-contradictory thinking, but external antagonisms: in course

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of time right becomes wrong, the useful becomes the harmful, laws and institutions become obsolete and fall into conflict with the living interests, and new ideas of society ; consequently social struggles arise in order to bring the laws and institutions into harmony with the new interests and ideas, and to reach a higher social stage. This higher stage is called by Hegel : the negation of the negation or the synthesis.

In order to understand this more distinctly, and to visualize it, let us consider an egg. It is something positive, but it contains a germ, which, quickening into life, gradually consumes (*i.e.* negatives), the contents of the egg. This negation is, however, no mere destruction and annihilation ; on the contrary, it results in the germ developing into a living thing. The negation being complete, the chick breaks through the egg shell. This represents the negation of the negation, whereby something organically higher than an egg has arisen.

According to Hegel, the most important factor in the life process (or in the development of ideas and things and beings), is the quickening of the negative forces, the emergence of contradictory, antithetical factors. " Contradiction is the root of all

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movement and life ; only in so far as anything contains within itself a contradiction does it move and have momentum and activity," to quote Hegel's own words. Only through their differentiation and unfolding as opposing forces and factors, is progress beyond the antithesis to a higher positive stage made possible. Where, however, said Hegel, the power to develop the contradiction, and bring it to a head is lacking, the thing or the being is shattered on the contradiction.

If we rightly understand this dialectical conception of the world, we shall also understand the essence of Marxism.

It goes without saying that Hegel, the greatest and most German of all German philosophers, did not describe his method in such simple words as we have used here. For Hegel was an idealist: the idea, the spiritual, the absolute, the divine, was for him the original (the primary), self-propelling force, which develops itself and at the same time the world as its outward garment from stage to stage until it becomes divine in man. According to Hegel, all the vicissitudes of world and human history constitute a process of development of the world spirit from the stage of the idea (of simple thought) to that

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of the divinity. According to Hegel, we may speak of a divine development in history, that is, God himself is contained in the development, and his highest expression is man. This is the culminating point of German mysticism. But all this does not concern us here. All we need do is to understand Hegel's dialectical method, for it will make the doctrines of Marx clear to us.

In line with the whole tendency of German thought, which began to turn away from idealism in 1830, and gradually became materialistic, Marx also was converted to materialism in the years 1840 and 1841. The primary and propelling force was not the spiritual, but the material, and its indwelling forces constituted the primary and developing force. And this development was accomplished by means of the clash of opposites, With these ideas Marx came to Paris. He threw himself, with all his energy, into the study of French socialism, and the French Labour movement. With the aid of the dialectic, he immediately perceived in the proletariat, the negation of the existing order, and in its struggles for socialism the higher synthesis. The positive was manifestly the existing economic order, based on private

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property and competition, against which was directed the struggle, the opposite, the contradiction. The dialectic taught Marx that this struggle should be assisted, that out of this struggle, when accentuated and carried to a conclusion, a higher stage of social life must arise.

Here we have already the fundamental sociological doctrines of Marx : unbridgeable antagonism between the supporters of the old order (of the positive, of private property) and the supporters of the nascent order (of the synthesis, of socialism). But who were these supporters ? Not some eminent individuals or groups of people, who for ideal reasons (the dictates of logic or moral motives) inclined to one or other of these opinions, but classes with special economic interests standing to each other in a relation of antagonism which cannot be bridged, but must be fought out. We may remember what ideas were abroad in France in 1837 : economics were already attempting to supplant liberal ideology, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the " people " (the proletariat), between capital and labour, was then a familiar idea, and the phenomenon of the concentration of capital and the

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disappearance of the industrious middle-class were no longer novelties to the socialists—if we recall all this, we shall the more readily comprehend how, with the aid of his dialectic, Marx welded this complex of phenomena into a firm and socialist philosophical whole. It blazed out for him a road to travel by: the study of political economy, the analysis of the capitalist economic order, the investigation of the rôle of the proletariat and of the forces which are developing in the womb of the old society and leading to a higher social stage.

In Marx's articles and the "Franco-German Annuals" (1844) the basic features of his later work are already indicated. He developed them a year later in the "Holy Family," and clearly and decisively in the "Misère de la Philosophie" (Brussels, 1847), directed against Proudhon, and soon afterwards in the "Communist Manifesto," which he drafted in December, 1847, and January, 1848.

3. THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

The study of political economy, of the origin and development of capital absorbed

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him more and more, for he had become convinced that political economy constitutes the foundation of middle-class society, and that the intellectual movements are the expression of the economic movements. We will explain this conception of history more fully :

A glance over human history suffices to teach us that from age to age men have held to be true or false various opinions on law, morality, religion, the State, philosophy, agriculture, commerce, industry, and so on, that they have had various economic institutions, forms of society and of the State, and that they have passed through an endless series of struggles and wars and migrations. How has this complicated variety of human thought and action come about? Marx raises this question, which, so far as he is concerned, does not relate in the first place to the discovery of the origin of thought, of law, of religion, of society, of trade, etc. ; these he takes to be historically given. He is rather concerned to find out the causes, the impulses, or the springs which produce the changes and revolutions in the essentials and forms of the intellectual and social phenomena, or which create the

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tendencies thereto. In a word : what interested Marx here was not the *origin*, but the dialectic (development and change) of things—the revolutionary element in history.

Marx answered : The driving forces of human society, which produce the changes in human consciousness and thought, or which cause the various social institutions and conflicts to arise, do not originate, in the first place, from thought, from the Idea, from the world-reason or the world-spirit, but from the material conditions of life. The basis of human history is therefore material. The material conditions of life—that is, the manner in which men as social beings, with the aid of environing Nature, and of their own in-dwelling physical and intellectual qualities, shape their material life, provide for their sustenance, and produce, distribute and exchange the necessary goods for the satisfaction of their needs.

The most important of all the departments of material life is the production of the means of life. And this is determined by the nature of the productive forces, which are of two kinds : inanimate and personal. The inanimate productive forces are : soil, water,

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climate, raw materials, tools and machines. The personal productive forces are : labourers, inventors, discoverers, engineers, and finally, the qualities of the race—the inherited capacities of specific groups of men, which facilitate work.

The foremost place among the productive forces is occupied by the manual and brain workers ; they are the real creators of exchange-value in capitalist society. The next place of importance is taken by modern technology, which is an eminently revolutionizing force in society. (" Capital," i., chapters 12, 13, and 14, " Poverty of Philosophy ").

If the productive forces expand, owing to the greater skill of the worker, discoveries of new raw materials, mineral deposits and markets, inventions of new methods, tools and machines, the application of science to production, or the better organization and extension of trade and commerce, so that the material basis or the economic foundation of society is altered, then the old conditions of production cease to promote the interests of production. For the conditions of production : the former social classes, the former laws, State institutions, and intel-

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lectual systems were adapted to a state of the productive forces which is either in process of disappearing or no longer exists. The social and intellectual superstructure is no longer adequate to the economic foundation. The productive forces and the conditions of production have come into conflict.

This conflict between the new reality and the old form, this conflict between new causes and the obsolete effects of bygone causes, gradually begins to influence the thoughts of men. Men commence to feel that they are confronted with a new external world, and that a new era has been opened. Social divisions acquire a new significance: classes and sections which were formerly despised, gain in social and economic power; classes which were formerly honoured decline. While this transformation of the social foundation is proceeding, the old religious, legal, philosophical and political systems cling to their inherited positions, and insist on remaining, although they are obsolete and can no longer satisfy intellectual needs. For human thought is conservative: it follows external events slowly, just as our eye perceives the sun at a point which the

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sun has in reality already passed, as the rays require several minutes of time in order to strike our optic nerves. We may recall Hegel's fine metaphor: "The Owl of Minerva begins its flight only when twilight gathers." However late, it does begin. Great thinkers gradually arise, who explain the new situation, and create new ideas and trains of thought which correspond to the new situation. Human consciousness gives birth to anxious doubts and questionings, and then new truths; leading to differences of opinion, disputes, strifes, schisms, class struggles, and revolutions.

4. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

One of the most important contributions of Marx to the understanding of historical processes is his conception of social classes and class struggles. A social group of men, who bear the mark of common economic characteristics, forms a class. Those groups of men, whose chief source of livelihood is wages, form the working class. Men whose most important source of livelihood is profit, interest, and rent, form the capitalist class. Between these two classes there exist profound

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unbridgeable antagonisms of an economic nature, relating to remuneration and the organization of society. Out of the original antagonism over wages and working hours, there develops in course of time, and with the growth in the intelligence of the proletariat a passionate contest between the two classes concerning the economic order : the capitalist class strives to maintain the existing order, the proletariat strives to reorganize economic and social life upon socialist lines. Great social class struggles inevitably become political struggles. The immediate object is the possession of the State power, with the assistance of which the capitalist class attempts to maintain its position, whilst the proletariat aims at the seizure of State power, in order to utilize it for the realization of its remoter aims.

According to Marx, this struggle must sooner or later end with the victory of the working class, which during the period of transition from private property to the socialist order will form a dictatorial government and gradually transform society.

Marx was the first to use the expression "proletarian dictatorship" ("Class Struggles in France, 1848," pp. 98 et seq.), written

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in 1850; two years later (in a letter to Weydemeyer, New York), Marx acknowledged himself the author of the idea "that the class struggle leads to a dictatorship of the proletariat;" finally in the Criticism of the Gotha Programme (contained in a letter addressed by him in the year 1875 to the Executive Committee of the German Social Democracy) he regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as the State power of the period of transition or the revolutionary period proper.

5. THE ESSENCE OF HIS ECONOMICS

The chief economic problem which Marx set himself to explain was: What is the driving force and the goal of capitalist economy, and what causes the enormous increase in wealth? These problems were dealt with in his "Capital" (3 volumes, 1867—1894).

He answered: Wealth is the mass of useful goods which a nation produces. Normally capitalist economy creates more goods each year than during the preceding year. This surplus is accumulated, and creates another surplus, and so on; in this way wealth increases.

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But who creates this surplus? Which group of men, which class is it that increases wealth?

In order to be able to answer this question, Marx investigates the nature of value. Moreover, wealth is measured according to value. But what is value? Marx does not speculate at large, but looks around the manufacturer's counting-house to discover how values are fixed there. And he perceives that the manufacturer makes the costs of production the basis of value.

But what are the costs of production?

Costs of production are the expenditure for raw materials, the use of buildings, machines and tools, salaries and wages, and, finally, the usual profit which is added to the commodity. According to Marx only the living labour that is applied to the production and transport of raw materials is creative of value. The socially-necessary manual and brain labour applied to production and the transport of raw materials to the places of production is the source and the measure of value. The remuneration which this value-begetting labour receives always falls below the magnitude of the values created, so that, generally speaking, productive labour creates

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more value for the manufacturer than he assigns to it in the form of remuneration. This distinction is the source of surplus value, from which the manufacturer derives his profit, the banker his interest, the landlord his rent, the middleman his commission, the shopkeeper his livelihood.

For, the individual manufacturer does not receive the surplus-value created in his factory, as he is obliged to adapt his arrangements to the world market, to competition. If, for example, the surplus-value created in his factory amounts to fifty per cent., whereas the surplus-value of other manufacturers amounts to sixty, forty, thirty, etc. per cent., market prices will yield an average profit of about 45 per cent.

If, therefore, productive labour forms the measure of value, it is clear that the less productive manual and brain labour that is embodied in an article, the smaller is its value. This is actually the case when human labour is supplanted by machinery: in normal times commodities become cheaper.

The less human labour there is in an article, the less is the surplus-value, and the less the profit on each article. The rate of profit falls.

To counteract this fall, the capitalist

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resorts to mass production, which, however, involves large quantities of raw materials, bigger and finer machines, as well as additional accommodation. These requisites can only be provided by great capitalists and joint-stock companies, while the small industrialists and handicraftsmen, who lack capital, are ruined. A process of concentration and centralization pervades the economic life, which widens and deepens the gulf between the classes and polarizes society into a handful of magnates and a great majority of propertyless persons, multitudes of proletarians in the centres of industry, and in this way strengthens their organization, stimulates their class consciousness, and accentuates the class struggle until it reaches revolutionary boiling point.

The last act of this drama is the expropriation of the capitalists by the masses of the people, who place the means of production under the management and control of the entire nation and realize economic democracy. Only, as above stated, an intermediate stage must be interposed, during which the proletarian dictatorship consciously directs the process of transformation and removes all hindrances thereto.

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6. EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.

In Marx's mind there is no antagonism between revolution and evolution. Just as little as with Hegel. The Hegelian dialectic is as rounded off and as homogeneous as the whole life's work of Marx. The Communist Manifesto is not less evolutionary than "Capital" or the "Criticism of Political Economy," and contrariwise: "Capital" is not less revolutionary than the "Communist Manifesto."

What does this mean?

The Hegelian dialectic is evolution through struggle and the accentuation of contradictions by active reason. Not an automatic, peaceful, and quiet process of becoming, growth, adaptation, but a working out of the negation which transforms the positive in destroying it. The whole effect of negation is revolutionary to the point where the negation of the negation emerges. This is the essence of the Hegelian logic, the discovery of contradictions (antagonisms) in cosmic and social evolution, the struggle of these contradictions, in which the old positive is dissolved. The Hegelian dialectic is evolution with revolutionary instruments.

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And so it is with Marx's socialist dialectic. The reader of a Marxian work must above all be clear as to the subject dealt with: whether an objective process, economic development, analysis of capitalist production and circulation—or whether the activity of the proletariat.

The economic process is the evolutionary material, the activity of the proletariat and its leaders is the revolutionary re-shaping.

In the "Communist Manifesto" or in the demands of the Communist League the proletariat is the subject that is handled. Consequently, the revolutionary factor is sharply emphasized. Marx appears in this aspect as the thinker of revolution.

Capitalist economy is the subject-matter of "Capital." Consequently, the evolutionary factor steps into the foreground. Marx appears in this aspect as an analyst of economic development.

The rôle which Hegel, in his "Logic" ascribes to active reason, viz.: the accentuation of contradictions, this rôle Marx allots to the class-conscious, self-sacrificing vanguard—the latter must stimulate to the utmost the class struggle of the proletariat which arises from the conditions of production.

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In the view of both Hegel and Marx, the clash of contradictions and the accentuation of antagonisms are the most effective means for the development of life and the thorough working out of all the universal forces.

Evolution, with the assistance of revolutionary means: socio-economic perception and social-revolutionary action—such is the testament of Karl Marx ⁽¹⁾.

7. FRIENDSHIP WITH FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Marx's adjutant was Engels—a man of great knowledge and ability, yet only a person of talent, like Hess, Grün, Lüning, Proudhon, Blanc, etc.; his eminent position in the history of socialism he owes to early attachment to Marx, whose genius he at once estimated at its full worth, whose work he furthered, both intellectually and materially, at the cost of great sacrifice during his long

⁽¹⁾ The further life story of Marx is so well-known, that the following indications may suffice: Marx lived in Paris until 1845, was then expelled, settled in Brussels, where he lived until the 1st March, 1848. From the beginning of March until the end of May, he was in Paris, and in 1848—1849 in Cologne as editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, then for some months in Paris; at the end of 1849, he sought refuge in London, where he remained until his death (14th March, 1883). Here he wrote his economic work "Capital."

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life, and whose friendship he clung to with a jealousy that sprang from profound intellectual love.

Engels was born in Barmen-Eberfeld in 1820 ; his father was a manufacturer and a pious evangelical Christian. He enjoyed a very good grammar school education, then entered business life, passed through a religious crisis, became a young Hegelian and an atheist, and then—through the influence of Moses Hess—a socialist. He began his journalistic career before he was twenty years old, and wrote upon Young German and patriotic lines.

At the end of 1842 he was sent to his father's factory at Manchester, whence he wrote about English conditions for the "*Rheinische Zeitung*," he became acquainted with the Chartist and Owenite leaders, and commenced to write for their organs ; at the same time he composed a criticism of political economy, from the standpoint of social ethics, which Marx published in the "*Franco-German Annuals*" "*Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*" (1844), and which led to the lifelong friendship of both. In 1845, he published a sociological work : "*The Condition of the Working Class in England*," and at the same

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time was active on behalf of communism in Paris, Brussels, and in the Rhineland ; he supplied a few contributions to " The Holy Family," a settling of accounts by Marx with his Young Hegelian friends who had remained at the stage of liberalism.

In 1847 he wrote the draft of a communist manifesto, and was one of the founders of the Communist League. Henceforth his intellectual life was bound up with that of Marx ; he was collaborator on the " Neue Rheinische Zeitung " (" New Rhenish Gazette "), (1848—49) ; took part in the Bavarian revolt (1849), worked on the " Neue Rheinische Revue," (" New Rhenish Review "), (London, 1850) ; from 1850 to 1869 he was engaged in business in Manchester, in his father's English factory, during which time he read chiefly books on military subjects and the natural sciences ; he supported Marx generously with money and English newspaper articles. From 1870 onwards he lived near Marx in London, wrote with Marx's help the " Anti-Dühring " (1877). After Marx's death in 1883, Engels edited the second and third volumes of " Capital " ; wrote a number of ethnological, philosophical and political treatises, and died in 1895.

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8. FOUNDATION AND PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Since 1845, Marx and Engels had been spreading their newly hatched ideas among the members of the League of the Just. (The novelty consisted in the fact that communism was no ready-made plan for a social order, which was to be established with the assistance of powerful philanthropists or by the foundation of colonies, but that communism signified the organization of the working class as an independent political party, which would use revolutionary means to seize the State power, for the purpose of re-organizing the social order on communist lines.)

These ideas took root sooner than elsewhere in London, where the Chartists were likewise striving to realize social reforms through democracy.

At the end of January, 1847, the Executive Committee of the League sent Josef Moll to Brussels, to invite Marx and Engels to join the League, and to discuss the situation with them. The League convened a conference in London on the 1st June, 1847, in which Engels and Wilhelm Wolff (as the representative of Marx) took part. In September, the Executive Committee issued

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the first number of the "Communist Magazine," under the editorship of Karl Schapper, which bore the motto: "Proletarians of all countries unite." The League of the Just was transformed into the Communist League, and held its conference from the 30th November to the 8th December, 1847. Marx was present, and, in conjunction with Engels, was instructed to write the communist manifesto. The most important points of the programme then drawn up and accepted were:

Article 1. The object of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old middle-class society, based upon class rule, and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property.

Article 2. The conditions of membership are: (a) a mode of life and activity corresponding to this object; (b) revolutionary energy and enthusiasm in propaganda; (c) avowal of communism; (d) abstinence from participation in any anti-communist, political or national society; (e) submission to the resolutions of the League; (f) silence concerning all League business; (g) unanimous acceptance in the branch.

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Article 3. All members are equal and brothers, and as such owe assistance in every situation.

Then come organization rules.

Marx returned to Brussels, wrote the manifesto, sent the manuscript to London, where it was printed. It was scarcely out of the press when the revolution broke out in Paris, and soon found an echo in all the German States.

9. COMMUNIST REACTION UPON GERMANY : STEFAN BORN, MENTEL

German workers, who had worked in Brussels, Paris, and London brought the new tidings home. Berlin, Cologne, and Breslau were the first German towns in which communist ideas found admission. Journey-men home from their travels became members of the artisans' and journeymen's unions, and were busy spreading the new ideas. We learn of this activity in Berlin from the trial of Mentel, which took place in 1846—47 in Berlin, and also from Born, who was active in the years 1848 and 1849 in Berlin and Leipzig, partly on the lines laid down by Marx.

Stefan Born was born of Jewish parents in Lissa in 1824. For a short time he attended

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the grammar school, but, owing to his father's unfavourable material position, was obliged to enter a trade, and in 1840 joined a Berlin printing works as a compositor's apprentice. However, he utilized his spare time for the continuance of his studies, so that when he came out of his time in 1846 he was a good writer and a well-educated man generally. Stimulated by the new communist ideas, he repaired to Paris, then to Brussels, where he found employment in the office of the "Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung." Here he became acquainted with Marx, whose doctrines he absorbed to some extent, while as a practical man he turned his attention to the ideas of productive co-operation (Louis Blanc). Born was tactful, moderate, inclined to "revisionism," a good speaker and organizer, and a very courageous barricade fighter. In 1848 he was, as we shall soon see, the most important personality among the workers of Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden. After 1849 he withdrew from the movement, lived in Switzerland as a printer, co-operator, editor, and professor of French literature in Basle, and in the last years of his life published "Recollections of a Forty-Eighter" (1898).

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Born was first interested in communism in 1846 by the journeyman tailor, Christian Friedrich Mentel, a born Berliner, who was engaged in his trade in various towns of Western Europe between 1840 and 1845, returning in 1846 to his native town. Mentel soon joined the Artisans Union, and sought secretly for comrades to whom he could impart his new doctrines. Born gives the following account of Mentel's activity in his "Recollections of a Forty-Eighter": "An emissary of this kind, named Mentel, cautiously sought to secure members for his secret association. . . . I was initiated into his secrets by the shoemaker Hactzel, a restless individual, whose support he had gained. He did not belong to the tendency represented by the tailor Weitling who had appeared in Switzerland; he talked rather about a secret Labour Union which had set itself the aim of achieving the emancipation of the proletariat from the chains of capitalism on the basis of the political freedom which had first to be acquired. From Mentel's somewhat confused exposition I gathered that he represented the opinion that the historical process of the imminent new age should always be kept in mind, that

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it was not a question of a new State being hatched in the head of a journeyman tailor like Weitling, but of supporting the party which had arisen with historical necessity out of the existing conditions, and which regarded the familiar Liberalism as an intermediate stage to be passed, a stage which it had left far behind theoretically. This fully enlightened me." The organization founded by Mentel was soon denounced and dissolved by the police at the end of 1846, the leaders being imprisoned and prosecuted. After suffering a long period of detention, Mentel, Haetzel, and their comrades were either sentenced to short terms of imprisonment or acquitted by the Berlin Courts in June, 1847.

V

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I. ROMANTIC PERSONALITIES

SIMULTANEOUSLY with democratic socialism and Marxian communism there arose a social reform movement, which, while adopting a critical attitude towards liberalism in politics and individualism in economics, aimed not at communism, but at a modernized mediæval order or a social monarchy. The representatives of institutions based on authority, clergymen, nobles, guild masters, romantic thinkers and poets, could not accept ideas and demands and economic practices which were based on individual freedom of judgment and of action—without regard to the church, the State, and the community, and placed egoism and self-interest before subordination, commonalty, and social solidarity. The modern era seemed to them to

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be built on quicksands, to be chaos, anarchy, or an utterly unmoral and godless outburst of intellectual and economic forces, which must inevitably lead to acute social antagonisms, to extremes of wealth and poverty, and to an universal upheaval. In this frame of mind, the Middle Ages, with its firm order in church, economic and social life, its faith in God, its feudal tenures, its cloisters its autonomous associations and its guilds, appeared to these thinkers like a well-compacted building, a finely-knit organism, in which every Christian had his place, in which everybody was almost rooted and as a member of his association drew his sustenance from the general soil.

Or they regarded the State, the monarchy, as the fixed pole and the firm support in the flux of phenomena. Eagerly these thinkers and poets listened to the complaints of the proletariat, to the sharp critical tones of the socialists and communists, to the rebellious, revolutionary murmurs of the underworld. They interpreted these phenomena as symptoms of disintegration, as the inevitable consequences of the liberal, dissolvent influence in the body politic and the State, and as an appeal to all Christians,

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ethical economists and monarchical politicians to oppose the liberal capitalist world, to show the proletariat the remedy for poverty, and to re-organize society upon a Christian, ethico-religious, communal and authoritarian foundation.

To this social conservative tendency belonged a number of eminent writers, lawyers, and poets, but very few important economists. It did not produce any homogeneous system of thought; some opposed Adam Smith and his doctrines of economic freedom; others opposed the absolute, centralizing State, which suppressed all autonomous associations; others again idealized the Middle Ages, the Germanic law, the Catholic Church, and conceived an unconquerable aversion for Liberals and Jews (Anti-Semitism). Two men only made an attempt to create a system of social conservative economics: Karl Winkelblech (pseudonym: Marlo) and Karl Rodbertus. Their influence upon practical politics was inconsiderable, but they were persons of ability, noble characters, and one of them—Marlo—conducted a propaganda in 1848 among the artisans and journeymen's congresses, whereas Rodbertus exerted some

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influence upon Ferdinand Lassalle and the Christian social movement.

2. MARLO WINKELBLECH

Whereas Marx was a Western European and pursued his social investigations in an evolutionary spirit, inasmuch as he conceived the past phases of human history as being justified at their time, and regarded capitalism and the free play of economic forces and unrestricted competition among individuals not as chaos, but as an advance upon the past, as the potent transformer of the present, and as the unfolding future—whereas Marx looked ahead for the emergence of the socialist stage of economy, Marlo was pre-occupied with adapting medieval-Germanic law, or the society based upon the principle of a well-compacted community and vocational subordination, with all its privileges and evils swept away, to modern conditions. Instead of industrial freedom—a rigid order of industry; instead of free competition—the guilds; instead of individuals invested with economic freedom—the organization of the whole of economic life, works and industries in economic communities. What was

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required was neither Liberalism nor Communism, neither the bourgeoisie, eager and striving for State power and national wealth, nor the proletariat, which in its revolutionary fury would make everyone equal and would lay everything in ruins; neither the State, which centralizes everything, nor the bureaucracy, which reduces everything to a level of mediocrity and deadens all initiative, but creative, economically autonomous and living communities. Marlo's ideal was a modernized Middle Age: composed of the organization of the whole economic life in guilds and corporations, where masters and journeymen would stand on the footing of social equality, where prices and wages would be fixed jointly by committees of masters and journeymen, where chambers of industry would regulate the purchase and distribution of raw materials and orders, and where a social parliament, consisting of the chiefs of the guilds and corporations, would discuss all economic legislation and submit it to the political parliament for approval. Likewise a Labour Ministry would set to work all persons who are unemployed, as the right to work must be secured to everybody who is willing to

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work. Although private property in the means of production would continue to exist, it could not be abandoned absolutely and unconditionally to the owner, in the sense of Roman law, but would be bound up with obligations of service to the community in the sense of Christian-Germanic law. By way of distinction from the mediæval order, democratic equality would henceforth prevail and all privileges would be abolished. The whole production of a country would be based upon the needs of the country. Marlo called his system federal socialism, the separate productive associations were to administer their own affairs and remain in a federal relation with each other, instead of being managed by the State on centralized lines.

Marlo (Karl Winkelblech) was born in 1810 in Ensheim (Baden), studied chemistry in Marburg and Giessen (under Liebig), was lecturer on chemistry in Marburg from 1836 to 1839, and in 1839 was appointed professor of technological chemistry at the higher technical school of Kassel. He spent a few months in Paris in 1838 and 1839; in 1843 he travelled through Northern Europe for purposes of study, and also visited the then famous cobalt factory at Modum

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(Norway), admiring the machinery as well as the landscape beauties of the neighbourhood, until a German worker who had been employed there described to him the poverty of the factory proletariat.

Marlo relates : " Like so many scientists, I had previously directed my attention in the workshops of industry only to the furnaces and machines, and not to the men ; only to the products of human industry and not to the producers. Consequently, I was entirely unaware of the great realm of poverty which forms the foundation of our painted civilization. The convincing words of the worker caused me to feel the whole futility of my scientific endeavours, and in a few moments the resolution was taken to investigate the causes of the sufferings of our generation and to remedy them." He kept his resolution ; he took a special interest in the German artisans.

Marlo's merit as a political economist consists in his analysis of various economic systems from ancient times up to 1850. He was not acquainted with the modern communism of Marx, and had he been familiar with it, he would doubtless have rejected it, as Marlo took his stand upon

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the community, and not upon political and economic class struggles. In his opinion, the workers ought to confine themselves to social problems. Marlo's social conception "rejected all heathen principles, and based itself on Christian. It comprised all the moral institutions of the Middle Ages in a high state of perfection; it has all its enchantment without its dark sides; its romance without its barbarism. With its guilds, municipalities, business associations, and families, it forms a great co-operative commonwealth, in which the interest of all its members coincide with that of the community." We shall meet Marlo again later as the intellectual leader of the artisans and journeymen 1848-49.

[3. KARL JOHANN RODBERTUS

¶ Rodbertus had intellectual affinities both with Marlo and with Marx, albeit the differences between them are very considerable. With Marlo, Rodbertus shared opposition to Roman Law, to capitalism, to the splitting up of society into economic individuals; both regarded the community as the life force of human society; both separated the

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social question from politics. Rodbertus held in common with Marx the labour theory of value and the conception of the concentration of capital. From Marlo-Winkelblech Rodbertus differentiated himself by his absolute rejection of "all attempts to galvanize the guilds into life," as well as by his reverence for the State and centralization: by his assumption that the State was now invested with sufficient power to enforce the distribution of the product in the workers' favour.

Rodbertus was born in 1805 in Greifswald, where his father was a professor of Roman Law. After leaving the grammar school, he studied law at Göttingen and Berlin, then entered the State service, travelled, purchased the property of Jagetzow (Pommerania), devoted himself to his economic and historical studies, occupied various positions, and in 1839 commenced to write upon social reform subjects. In 1842 he published the first instalment of an ambitious work: "A Contribution to the Understanding of our Economic Conditions," which, however, did not evoke much interest. In 1848 he became Minister for Education, but resigned the post after a few weeks. Later he became a supporter

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of Bismarck, published a large number of articles, wrote the four "Social Letters to Kirchmann," consorted in 1862-1864 with Ferdinand Lassalle, ten years later with Hasenclever, the leader of the Lassalleans; after 1872 he adopted a critical attitude towards Bismarck, condemned his home policy and predicted his eventual defeat upon the social question. In the last years of his life (1874-75) he thought of coming forward as a socialist candidate, he died, however, in December 1875.

According to Rodbertus, the secular driving force of society does not consist in mind or even in will, but in life itself. What he means by this is that human society is not driven forward by conscious forces, but by irrational forces or the urge of life. The soul of this social life is the community. Language and science are based upon community of mind; morality and law upon community of will; labour and economy upon community of the existing material forces. It is not the individual or private property or personal freedom, but the human community of spiritual and material goods that is the soul of society. Individual freedom or liberalism has only a negative

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significance : freedom disintegrates and clears away the incomplete communistic forms, in order to make room for other, new, more complete communistic forms. Human society is progressing towards communal economy, from the tribal order to the State order, and finally to the unified organization of human society—to the society of the future. In our time the absolute economic freedom of the individual leads to antagonisms : to the growing wealth of a minority, and the growing impoverishment of the working classes. For economic life is dominated not by labour, but by ownership. Egoism becomes a virtue ; competition leads not to fortune of the best, but to the gains of speculators. Capital is organized in societies, which forms a State within a State : it gains possession of the State power ; it condemns the artisans and wage workers to impoverishment. The evil of pauperism is accompanied by the periodical economic crises, which have a devastating effect upon the less fortunate members of society, all the more so as, in consequence of the iron law of wages, the working classes receive as wages only the minimum of food necessary for their bare subsistence, while the whole

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gain of increasing productivity falls to capital. This is the organic defect of existing society. This is the proper "social question;" an increasing mass of commodities by the side of a lesser and constant consuming power of the home market. The superfluity of goods is exported; whence the stimulus to open up overseas countries. This opening up of new markets postpones the social question for some time, as it temporarily relieves the congestion. Colonial policy has the same effect: the social question is postponed, as Europe is able to breathe again for some time. But these postponements must at length cease, and then the alternatives will be: solution of the social question or dissolution of society.

What is the solution?

Although the whole outlook of Rodbertus pointed to communism as the solution, he considered that this object could only be realized in the remote future. If, according to him, the social question consisted in the disproportion between increasing economic productivity, and the stationariness or relative decline in the purchasing power of the working classes, manifestly the solution must consist in admitting the workers to

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a share in the growing productivity. The State should take steps to effect this object, basing itself upon a plan which may be described somewhat as follows :

Each article or commodity shall be measured by the number of normal working hours which it embodies. The normal working hours shall determine the value of the goods produced, for labour is the source and the measure of value. The distribution of the product shall be effected on the following basis : thirty per cent. of the value to fall to the workers (wages), thirty to the capitalists (profit), thirty to the landlords (rent), ten per cent. to the State (taxes). If this ratio of distribution can be fixed, labour will receive its share in the growing productivity, and the whole of society will move upwards ; antagonisms will be avoided ; the social cleavages will be closed up. If we assume that in the year 1870 the total value of the goods produced in a particular country amounts to one hundred millions, the workers engaged in their production will receive thirty millions. If the productivity of labour doubles in the course of thirty years, while the labour-time remains the same, the workers concerned will receive

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sixty millions. Instead of metallic money, which is the currency to-day, there will be labour-time notes ; labour-time will then be exchanged for labour-time. And it will be the State's business to see that this ratio of distribution of the product between labour, capital, and landownership is maintained.

Rodbertus overlooked the fact that so long as the means of production remained in private hands, and, therefore, with the capitalists, distribution would inevitably be effected upon the lines of private capitalism. He also overlooked the fact that it is not the State that governs, but the strongest economic power—in our case, therefore, capital. No wonder that Rodbertus made no impression on the State, nor even among the workers, inasmuch as he enjoined them to leave capital and land ownership in existence,⁽¹⁾ neither to found trade unions nor co-operative societies, nor to demand protective legislation ; he was even opposed to the independent politics of the proletariat. Only at the end of his life did he view with any sympathy a socialist policy for the workers.

(1) Rodbertus says : " The social-economic class division of labour, capital, land ownership, is to be maintained at all costs, and its disadvantages to be remedied solely in the division of the labour product."

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Marx, Marlo, and Rodbertus theoretically dominated all writers and movements which aimed at social reform upon their lines in Germany and Austria between 1860 and 1920, as, for example: Lassalle, Kautsky, Bebel (social-democratic); Bishop Ketteler, Moufang, Vogelsang, Schings, Hitze (Catholic-socialist); Hermann Wagener, Schönberg, Schmoller (socialists of the chair); Pastor Todt, Court preacher Stöcker (Protestant-socialist).

VI

THE SECOND GERMAN REVOLUTION (1848—1849)

I. POLITICAL COURSE

THE first German Revolution (1516-1536) was chiefly a peasant revolution, in which aspirations for German unity and communistic ideas mingled. Its result was an instalment of ecclesiastical reform, as well as the victory of the territorial princes and the landed nobility. The second German Revolution, with which we are about to deal (1848-1849), was in the main a middle-class, liberal, and national revolution, in which social reform ideas also played a part.

The political course of the second German Revolution may be summarized as follows: both in Austria and in Prussia, that is in the two most important federal States, the middle-class had been increasingly engaged since 1830 in an endeavour to abolish absolutism, to introduce liberalism and German

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unity. In the small federal States, especially in South Germany, these endeavours assumed a still more vigorous character. The financial embarrassment of the governments came to the assistance of the middle-class, and enabled it to press its political demands on the princes with great insistence. Towards the end of 1847 public opinion was already strongly on the side of the opposition, and when the news of the Paris February Revolution (1848) reached Germany, the storm burst there: on the 13th March in Vienna; on the 18th March in Berlin; the smaller federal States had been affected by the agitation since the end of February. At first princes and nobles bowed to the storm; they fled or took off their hats to the revolution in order to save their heads, whereupon the waves of middle-class revolution quickly subsided, partly owing to the innate conservatism of the German middle-class, partly owing to its fear of the proletariat, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, put forward social reform demands. In Berlin the middle-class Minister entered into negotiations with the Crown in order to agree upon a constitution, and to form a coalition government of the middle-class and

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the nobility. In Vienna the middle-class wanted to have the Imperial Court back again, and to restore peace and order to the disturbed course of business. The German National Assembly, which had been elected on the basis of manhood suffrage and had met on the 18th March in St. Paul's Church at Frankfort-on-Main, lost itself in endless debates and did nothing to establish and consolidate the sovereignty of the German people. Moreover, its attitude towards all ideas of social and political reform was hostile. Meanwhile, the princes recovered from their revolutionary fright, and when the defeat of the Paris proletariat at the end of June, 1848, became known, reaction again raised its head, and began to make arrangements for the restoration of the old state of affairs. In October Windischgrätz marched against Vienna, and captured it on the 30th and 31st October and 1st November. Vienna fell. Nine days later General Wrangel broke up the Prussian Assembly. By March, 1849, the old conditions had been restored in Austria. At the end of March the Frankfort National Assembly offered the German Crown to the King of Prussia, and a ready-made liberal constitution to

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the German people. The King of Prussia refused ; the German people accepted the Frankfort Constitution, but the governments dissolved the popular chambers.

The Frankfort Right left the National Assembly ; the Left removed to Stuttgart as a Rump Parliament. The prohibition of the Imperial Constitution led to a revolt in Dresden in May, and to the Imperial Constitution campaign in Baden and the Bavarian Pfalz, which was terminated on the 23rd July, 1849, by the capitulation of Rastatt (south of Karlsruhe). Everywhere it was Prussian troops who suppressed the revolts.

The second German Revolution was at an end. It, too, terminated with the victory of the local princes and the nobility, yet the victors were obliged to compromise with the vanquished, as the latter were in possession of the economic power. As a result of these compromises the princes and nobles became executors of the year 1848, although they were unfitted by their whole nature to carry out the work in the spirit of 1848. In spite of the enormous efforts put forth during the following five decades only a fragment came into existence, and this fell

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to pieces in 1914-1918. The most vigorous efforts of heart and mind, even if made by persons of heroic proportions, may not distort and impede the development of classes and their struggles with impunity. A victorious German revolution in 1848 would have obviated the wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870, and, perhaps, even 1914-1918.

2. SOCIAL REFORM TENDENCIES, 1848-1849

The year of German revolution saw the rise of a number of periodicals which had a more or less social-democratic character. The expression "Social Democracy" occurs several times in this Press. Among these periodicals may be mentioned: "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" of Cologne, conducted by Marx, Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Freiligrath; the Berlin Zeitungshalle of G. Julius; Volksfreund, Berlin, of Schlöffel (1); Das Volk, Berlin, of Born; Die Verbrüderung, Berlin-Leipzig, of Born and Schwenniger; Der Urwähler, of Weitling, Berlin; Fliegende Blätter, Breslau, of F. Behrend; Die Hornisse, Kassel. In addition Trade Union organs came into existence, such as Prometheus, Konkordia, in connection with the organization of the Labour Brotherhood.

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In the general confusion of the desires and demands expressed by the industrial sections of the population, two divergent tendencies may be clearly discerned. One was represented by Marlo : the reorganization of economic life upon the basis of guilds ; the other by Born : recognition of the class antagonism between capital and labour, organization of the working class, productive co-operation with State aid. The old master-craftsmen and journeymen were found in Marlo's camp, while the factory workers and other proletarians rallied round Born.

The numerical strength of the two camps may be gathered to some extent from the following statistics : in 1846 there were in Prussia about four hundred and fifty-seven thousand master craftsmen, mechanical artificers, etc., who employed about three hundred and eighty-five thousand journeymen and apprentices. Then there were about seventy-nine thousand factory concerns with five hundred and fifty-one thousand workers. In the rest of Germany, including Austria, the numerical relation between the two camps must have been more favourable for the handicraft businesses.

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The dominant ideas of the handicraftsmen were: dependence on the Guild system, opposition to industrial freedom, while recognizing that a re-organization of the Guild system was necessary, as a simple return to the Middle Ages had been made impossible by modern economic life. This tendency was espoused by Professor Marlo, who as a delegate from the Kassel popular assembly took part in the Handicraftsmen's Conferences at Hamburg (first week of June, 1848), and at Frankfort-on-Main (15th July to 15th August), and exercised a strong influence over them. The Frankfort gathering was a regular conference, which was attended by one hundred and sixteen delegates and set itself the task of elaborating an industrial order and devising a plan for the solution of the social question. The journeymen also sent delegates, who, however, were not admitted; not until protests were made did the Congress resolve to admit ten journeymen representatives, but only then in an advisory capacity; the journeymen rejected this concession and convened their own conference at Frankfort, which sat simultaneously with that of the Masters. At Marlo's instigation, the master handicraftsmen adopted the following social

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policy : instead of industrial freedom, a modernized Guild economic system, federation of guilds, establishment of industrial councils and chambers of trades, the creation of a social parliament.

The result of the discussions of the Frankfurt master handicraftsmen's congress was summarized in a memorial to the Economic Committee of the National Assembly. The said committee, which was liberal like the National Assembly, rejected the memorial.

The journeymen's congress, likewise influenced by Marlo, demanded a modernization of the guild system, the introduction of a new Guild constitution, an organization of labour, wholly different from the former system, corresponding to our highly-developed industrial conditions, recognizing the equal footing of all producers, covering all social occupations ; the establishment of industrial councils and chambers of trades, and also of a Labour Ministry. In addition, it demanded manhood suffrage, compulsory education, industrial continuation schools, 12-hour working day (including intervals for meals), legal minimum wage, sickness insurance, progressive property and income

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tax, protective duty on wholly manufactured imports, the partition of the Crown lands and the leasing or alienating of them to land workers and small peasants, the establishment of settlement colonies for the redundant population.

There was at that time a widespread fear of over-population, which was shared by Marlo, who advocated measures to counteract a rapid increase of population: marriage restrictions among impecunious persons.

A different sentiment prevailed in the great urban centres of industrial activity. Within a few days of the outbreak of the March Revolution there were references to the class antagonism between capital and labour. On the 23rd March the "Berliner Zeitungshalle" wrote: "The truth is that among us, as well as in France and England, the cleavage between the middle class and the working class is already effected." The first number of the "Volk" (25th May, 1848) conducted by Stephan Born, stated: "When we speak of the people, we generally include everybody, but this periodical will represent in the main only a definite class: *the working class*, which is oppressed, and lives

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on wages." The workers developed an ever more vigorous public activity; soon there arose labour organizations, and, under Born's leadership, a general Labour League, the aim of which was to organize the German working class politically and co-operatively.

The organ of the Labour League was the "Verbrüderung," (Brotherhood), which appeared in Leipzig in 1848-1849, and was at first conducted by Born. In its columns he expounded the idea that it was not a question of sketching remote Utopias and creating ideal States by means of philosophical hair-splitting, but of prosecuting the class struggle, whose aim it must be to introduce "the common exploitation of the means of production." (No. 10, 1848; Nos. 66, 67, 1849). All that is ready-made has a reactionary influence; only in movement, only in the development process is there life and progress. (No. 11).

The most important manifestation of the Labour League was the Labour congress in Berlin, which was held in the last week of August, 1848; it consisted of 40 delegates, who represented the large German towns (Berlin, Breslau, Chemnitz, Dresden, Hamburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Munich), and

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delegates were also sent from the Frankfort Journeymen's Congress. The chair was taken by the old Breslau professor, Nees von Esenbeck (1776-1858), the deputy-chairman was Stephan Born; the secretary was L. Bisky, a Berlin gold beater, who was then extremely popular. The resolutions of the Congress dealt with the political, trade union and co-operative organization of the German proletariat; the establishment of credit banks to aid the productive associations; the right to work; universal, equal suffrage in State and municipality; reduction of military service to one year; abolition of indirect taxation; establishment of a ten-hour normal working day; restriction of the number of apprentices; prohibition of the labour of children under fourteen; general compulsory education; compulsory continuation schools for apprentices; consultation of workers in the selection and appointment of foremen in factories and workshops.

From the Labour League there arose the organization of the "Labour Brotherhood" (whose journal was "Verbrüderung.") The leaders were Born, the architect Schwenniger (of Essen), and the gold beater L. Bisky. They convened conferences and congresses,

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conducted the agitation, (¹) got into touch with Marx, Wolff, Schapper, etc., and were extremely active in all directions until the general defeat of the Revolution also cut the vital threads of the Brotherhood.

3. END OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Immediately after the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the members of the League made for Germany, in order to take part in the struggle on communist lines. They distinguished themselves everywhere by great courage, by talent for leadership in the press, at public meetings, and on the barricades. Yet nowhere did they directly champion the proletarian revolution as Marx held German conditions to be still unripe. Marx, Engels, Freiligrath, Wolff, Wereth were engaged on the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," the leading revolutionary newspaper of Germany. Born was in Berlin and Leipzig; later he was at the head of the Dresden rebellion (May, 1849), where he commanded the barricade fights and

(¹) One of the most notable episodes of this agitation was the public debate between Born and Marlo, which was held in Heidelberg at the end of January, 1849, in which the former won a complete victory.

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conducted the retreat of the fighters in a masterly fashion to Freiburg.

Engels, Willich, and Moll took part in the Baden campaign for the imperial constitution ; Schapper was active in Wiesbaden ; many others were the proper organizers of the struggle in the provinces. After the defeat of the revolution most of them again sought refuge in London, where the League was re-organized and became the centre of the international socialist-revolutionary movement : English Chartists, French Blanquists, social-revolutionary Poles, Hungarians, etc., joined it. Until the middle of 1850 most of the members set their hopes upon a fresh revolutionary outbreak, and made preparations for the expected events. But in the late summer of 1850 Marx and Engels became convinced that the hope they had hitherto cherished was delusive, and that the proletariat had still to pass through about half a century of education and organization work before it would be capable of performing its social-revolutionary part. This opinion, however, was not shared by enthusiastic communists like Willich, (¹)

(¹) He afterwards emigrated to U.S.A., where he fought in the Civil War (1861—1864), in the Northern Army as a General.

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Schapper, etc. Consequently matters came to a split and angry disagreements, whereupon Marx removed the headquarters of the League to Cologne, where the programme of the League was revised on the 1st December, 1850. Henceforth the chief object of the League was "to accomplish by all the methods of propaganda and of the political struggle the destruction of the old society, the intellectual, political, and economic emancipation of the proletariat, and the communist revolution. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the proletariat has to pass through, the League will always represent the interests of the movement as a whole, as it ever seeks to unite and organise in itself all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat; it will remain secret and indissoluble so long as the proletarian revolution has not achieved its object."

Propaganda in Germany was conducted from Cologne until the imprisonment of the Cologne emissary of the League, Nothjung (a journeyman tailor), on the 10th May, 1851, in Leipzig. The documents and addresses found on him led to the imprisonment of several members of the League

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and to the well-known Cologne communist trial in November, 1852, which brought about the end of the League. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ See Marx, Enthüllungen über den Kölner Kommunistenprozess, Mehring's edition, Vorwärts-Verlag, 1914.

VII

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS (1850-1880)

I. THE AGE OF LIBERALISM

AFTER the defeat of the popular rising of the year 1848-49, the counter-revolution set in everywhere. In France, Napoleon III sat on the imperial throne and won the support of the bourgeoisie through his political enterprises abroad (Crimean War, Italian War, Mexico) and the repression of the proletariat; in Great Britain the working class turned away from proletarian ideas and became an appendage of the Liberal Party; in Prussia the three-class franchise was introduced in 1849, the press was muzzled, and social reform was diverted into authoritarian, monarchical-Christian channels by F. J. Stahl, a Jew converted to Christianity; with the assistance of the Czar Nicholas I., Austria overthrew Hungary and restored the pre-March German Federa-

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tion. Yet the counter-revolutionary interval only lasted about a decade (1849—1859). The powerful capitalist and national development which set in after 1850 swept away the barriers which the reactionary powers had erected. The gold discoveries in California and Australia, the silver discoveries in Mexico, the construction of railways, telegraphs and steam shipping, the boom in the mining industry, the factory system, the banks and stock exchanges, and lastly the victorious progress of the sciences: chemistry, physics (electricity) and biology (Charles Darwin) as well as the simultaneous revival of national aspirations in Italy, Germany, Poland and in the Balkan countries, accelerated the pulse of social and political life in Western and Central Europe; even in Russia there were distinct tendencies of a liberal and social reformist nature. Moreover, Russia was defeated in the Crimean War (1854—55), and Austria in the Italian War (1859). These powers were then the main props of the European reaction. The years 1860 to 1870 marked the era of Liberalism. In Great Britain, John Stuart Mill and William E. Gladstone celebrated political triumphs; in the United States of

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America there raged a civil war (1861—1865) for national unity and slave emancipation, from which the liberal Lincoln emerged as the victor ; in France the middle-class-republican opposition raised its head and Napoleon's throne began to shake ; in Prussia the liberal middle-class organized itself in the National Union as an opposition to Bismarck, who was eventually compelled by the exigencies of home politics as well as by his warlike policy towards Austria (1866) to pursue a liberal policy (manhood suffrage, 1867) ; in Russia the so-called emancipation of the peasants was begun in 1861, and inaugurated a protracted revolutionary period of alternating advances and setbacks ; Japan emerged from her mediæval seclusion and embarked upon an epoch of enlightenment and modern economic methods.

This wondrous decade (1859—1869), which brought us so many things : Darwin's chief work, the cutting of the Suez Canal, the political emancipation of the negro slaves in North America, the beginning of the Russian transformation, the dissolution of the German Confederation in consequence of the war of 1866, the removal of the ban

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on combination and manhood suffrage in Prussia (North Germany), the franchise conferred on the urban workers in Great Britain, the fateful beginnings of the national unity of Germany and Italy in addition to the awakening of Japan, also brought us the first national and international attempts of the Continental proletariat to organize as a class and to inaugurate the struggle for a new economic order.

2. TRANSITION TO IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

The decade 1869—1879 saw the completion of the liberal epoch. The victory of Prussian Germany over France (1870—71); the massive foundations of businesses and enterprises in industry, trade, transport, and finance; the depression in agriculture, partly in consequence of industrialization, partly in consequence of American competition; the relative over-production of manufactured goods soon led to a protracted period of political crisis, which was only interrupted by a few years of prosperity. It lasted right into the nineties, and was one of the chief causes of the emergence of the imperi-

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alist epoch—of the race for overseas markets, for the partition of the non-capitalist countries in Africa and Asia. It was also one of the chief causes of the revival of the socialist movement in Western and Central Europe. Towards the end of the seventies the brilliance of liberalism was dimmed. New needs and new ideas pressed into the foreground: State regulation, protection, colonial policy—in short, imperialism as the politics of the ruling classes, socialism as the ideal and programme of the working class. Europe was suddenly caught up in the rapids of a revolution which liberalism could not control. The following statistics, which are based partly on expert calculations, partly on official indications, may serve to exhibit the chief features of the transformation which was accomplished in the period 1850—1880.

In steam power (railways, steamships, factories) there was employed (reckoned in horse-power) :

	1850	1880
England	1,290,000	7,600,000
France	370,000	3,070,000
Germany	260,000	5,120,000
Russia	20,000	1,740,000
Austria	100,000	1,560,000
All Europe	2,240,000	22,000,000
America	1,680,000	14,400,000

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Production of Crude Iron (tons)		
	1850	1880
England	2,250,000	7,780,000
France	570,000	1,730,000
Germany	402,000	2,780,000
America	560,000	3,840,000
World Production	4,422,000	18,140,000

Steel in yearly average (tons)		
	1850—60	1880—89
England	2,600,000	25,100,000
France	800,000	3,800,000
Germany	1,300,000	12,000,000
America	700,000	21,000,000
Various Countries	700,000	6,100,000
Total	6,100,000	68,000,000

Coal Production (tons)		
	1850	1880
England	49,000,000	147,000,000
France	440,000	19,400,000
Germany	6,700,000	59,100,000
America	8,000,000	70,500,000
World Production	81,400,000	340,000,000

Factory products (textiles, metals, clothing, drinks, leather, various), calculated in million pounds sterling		
	1840	1888
England	387	830
France	204	485
Germany	150	583
America	96	1,443

Population of Europe (estimated) :		
1480	1780	1880
46,700,000	110,000,000	315,000,000 (1)

(1) All the statistics are taken from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1899.

The World Exhibitions in London, 1851, Paris, 1855, London, 1862, Paris, 1867, Philadelphia, 1873, bore testimony to the enormous progress of industry.

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The increase in population is remarkable. At no time in the history of mankind was it so rapid as in the nineteenth century. It was the consequences of the better hygiene and easier conditions of life created by the progress of the sciences (mechanics, electricity, chemistry), of the facilities of communications, of the application of science to industry and agriculture. The increase of population chiefly benefited the towns. The unexampled concentration of people in the centres of industry and commerce facilitated the exchange of ideas, and all the people who were seized and tossed hither and thither by this capitalist-industrial development, pondered upon the new social life proceeding at an unheard-of rate, which raised many social sections to the top and plunged others into the abyss. Progress, development, movement and transformation became the battle cries of the masses. Hegel, Darwin, Marx became the standard-bearers of great intellectual and social movements. Human thought, which was religious in the Middle Ages and mathematical-mechanical in the Renaissance, turned in modern times more and more to biological and social problems. Religion, mechanism, organism,

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or God, Nature, and human and social life are the headings of the main chapters in the annals of European humanity since the fourth century of our era.

VIII

THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

I. LASSALLE AND THE GERMAN GENERAL LABOUR UNION

THE first impulses towards an independent Labour movement in Germany came from Leipzig, where the social ideas of 1848—49 thrived most vigorously. In 1862 those Labour elements which were dissatisfied with the liberal educational endeavours and pressed for an independent policy, formed a central committee in order to summon a general Labour conference. As they were acquainted with Lassalle, through his lecture delivered the same year before Berlin workers, on "The special connexion of the present period of history with the idea of the labouring class," they sought his advice, amongst that of others whereupon he sent them his "Open Answer," in which he prescribed for the

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workers the task of forming an independent Labour Party, of fighting for manhood suffrage, and establishing productive co-operative associations with State aid, as no help for the workers would come from the means proposed by the Liberals. So long as wage labour lasted, the workers could never escape from poverty; the iron law of wages defeated all attempts at improvement.

Ferdinand Lassalle (1825—1864), the founder of German Social Democracy, came of a Jewish merchant's family in Breslau. He attended the grammar school, and then the Leipzig commercial school. He soon turned his back on a commercial career, and attended the Berlin University, where he devoted himself to philosophy and classical philology. Lassalle was distinguished by unusual intellectual and practical energy, a lively temperament, organizing capacity, and power of controlling men. He was without doubt a convinced socialist, but also inclined towards German national ideals.

In England or France, Lassalle would have become a famous statesman—a Disraeli or a Gambetta; in Prussia he had no choice but the career of a much persecuted socialist

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agitator and intellectual adventurer. His speeches and doctrines are still powerful engines of agitation, although many parts of them may be obsolete to-day. Lassalle found it uncommonly easy to arouse admiration, but more difficult to win confidence. His character was not so uniformly fresh as his intellect. He was born for rapid success, but not for a martyrdom. Although he remained in considerable intellectual dependence upon Marx, Lassalle was idealistic in his philosophy and a believer in the State. At bottom he remained an old Hegelian, and held that the material and historical phenomena were only expressions of the unfolding of God. He assiduously courted Marx's intellectual affection, but matters never came to friendly relations between the two. He was more successful in his relations to Rodbertus, Alexander von Humboldt, Professor Boeckh, and other Prussian scholars. Even Bismarck esteemed him personally.

From his connection with the Leipzig Central Committee, there arose in 1864 the General German Labour Union, whose president he was. At his death the Union numbered about 4,000 members. One of

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Lassalle's most gifted successors was J. B. von Schweitzer, a lawyer and a shrewd politician, with whom, however, Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826—1900) and August Bebel (1840—1913, both of whom were inspired by Karl Marx, came into conflict; as he followed Lassalle in seeking to retain the Labour Union within the frame of the Prussian-German development, whereas Liebknecht and Bebel were anti-Prussian, and international in their outlook.

Liebknecht and Bebel then embarked upon a several years' struggle with the Lassalleans, and eventually founded, in 1869 at Eisenach, a separate party: the so-called "Eisenachers," who were allied with the International Working Men's Association, founded in London in 1864.

At the outbreak of the Franco-German War (1870—71), the two parties adopted different attitudes. In the North-German Reichstag the representatives of the Lassalleans: Schweitzer, Fritzsche and Mende voted the war credits, while the Eisenachers: Liebknecht and Bebel, refrained from voting.

Only after Sedan, with the inauguration of the Prussian-German annexation policy, did

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the representatives of both socialist parties vote against the credits.

Bebel and Liebknecht were then prosecuted on account of their attitude to the war and their membership of the International, and sentenced to detention in a fortress, while the third prisoner, Adolf Hepner, was acquitted.

2. FOUNDATION AND CAREER OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

As in Germany, a revival of the Labour Movement was perceptible in France and England in the years 1861 to 1864. The visit of a French workmen's deputation to the London Exhibition, 1862, which brought it into contact with the English Labour leaders; the common sympathies of the English and French proletariat for the Polish insurrection of 1863; the entry of the English workers into a franchise struggle—all these events led to the establishment of the International Working Men's Association in the last week in September, 1864. The public meeting, which was to celebrate and confirm this foundation, took place in the evening of the 28th September, and was

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attended by representatives of the English, French, Italian, and German Labour organizations. From the German side there also appeared Karl Marx, to whom the intellectual leadership fell. He wrote its manifesto, the "Inaugural Address," and its statutes.

The basic ideas of this document are : the organization of the proletariat as an independent political party, the extension of labour protection and factory legislation, the establishment of co-operative societies, tireless opposition to the intriguing, nation-exasperating diplomacy, federation of the proletarians of all countries, destruction of class domination, economic emancipation of the working class. The International had its headquarters in London, and was conducted by a General Council, which was chiefly composed of English Labour leaders and Marx.

It never became a mass movement ; it attracted only the most impulsive Labour leaders and Labour groups ; it was rather a kind of seminary for inculcating a certain uniform conception of the tactics and aims of the Labour Movement. This task it did not then accomplish. Marx had to combat the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin.

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The International held five general congresses, at which important questions, labour protection, co-operation, trade unionism, war, land reform, were discussed. The congresses were held in Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869). Until 1867, the Proudhonist influence predominated; in 1867—1869 the Marxian; resolutions were passed in favour of the socialization of land and the means of transport. In 1868, the Russian revolutionary, Michael Bakunin (1814—1876), joined the International, and the struggle against Marx soon began. Bakunin founded within the International, a secret organization: the “Alliance Internationale,” which was not recognized by the International. The dissension eventually led to a split in the I.W.A. at the Hague Congress (1872). The headquarters of the I.W.A. was transferred to New York, and the organization was dissolved in 1876.

The I.W.A. contributed a great deal to the spread of trade union principles, and prepared the way for the victory of Marxism.

The struggle between the Marxian and the Bakunist-Proudhonian elements was frequently misunderstood by both parties, and the discussions carried on were too often

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marred by personal reproaches, to be able to throw any light on the points of dispute. At bottom both tendencies were communistic, for Proudhonism was a spent force, all that remained of it being hostility towards the State, while the Marxist tendency desired trade union and parliamentary action, and the intervention of the State power, as a means to the communist objective. On the other hand, the Bakunists and the elements influenced by Proudhon, thought the best tactics to be anti-parliamentary and anti-militarist syndicalism. The latter tendency, led by Bakunin, Guillaume and Hins, originated from the liberal doctrine, which regarded the individual as the sovereign ruler, and perceived nothing but evil in the State, and all authoritarian and centralized direction; they deviated from this doctrine only in so far as they set up communal economy or the mutuality of autonomous industrial groups in place of private property. The Marxist tendency, on the contrary, saw that man was conditioned by the phase of social development in which he happened to be born, and could thus only operate within the existing State and the existing economic form. The Bakunists and Proudhonian elements emphasized the freedom

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of the individual : the free industrial activities of comrades within the autonomous groups ; Marx, on the other hand, emphasized the organization of the working-class for the class struggle in parties and trade unions, the intervention of the State power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition to communism, in realizing which the State would die out and be replaced by the democratic administration of the co-operatively organized society. Marx no more than Bakunin and Proudhon, was a believer in, and upholder of, the State ; all of them regarded the State as a coercive organization for the maintenance of private property, as against the propertyless. Only Marx believed that the State, as a product of private property, could only fall to the ground after private property had been abolished ; while Proudhon and Bakunin saw in the State an independent evil which impeded all attempts at a social transformation, and must, therefore, be abolished as quickly as possible. Bakunin believed that the best means to this end lay in secret conspiracy and revolutionary insurrection.

The most important event in the history of the First International was the struggle of the Paris Commune (1871).

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3. THE PARIS COMMUNE

The origin of the Paris Commune may be traced to three chief causes : 1. The Franco-German War, which sprang from the traditional French policy of preventing the unity of the German races ; 2. The traditions of the Great French Revolution, in which the Paris Municipality played a considerable part ; 3. The spread of the International in Paris and the large provincial towns, as well as social reform ideas generally.

The military successes of Prussia (1864, 1866), the establishment of the North-German Confederation (1867), and the *rapprochement* to South Germany (1868), cost French diplomacy many anxious hours. When, therefore, the Spanish Crown was offered to, and accepted by, a prince of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1870), France felt herself threatened and fell into the trap prepared by Bismarckian diplomacy, for Prussia was completely equipped for war, both in the military and the diplomatic sense, and awaited an opportunity which would impel the French Government to declare war on Prussia. This declaration of war took place on the 19th July, 1870.

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At the beginning of August the series of encounters and battles began, which soon turned out unfavourably for France. At the beginning of September, France was defeated. On the 4th September, 1870, Paris rose, overthrew the Empire, declared France a Republic, appointed a provisional government for national defence, in which only Gambetta properly understood his duty, and as far as possible carried it out, while General Trochu (President and Governor of Paris), played an ambiguous part from the outset, as he hated and feared the internal enemy (the Paris proletariat and the Republican elements) more than the external enemy (the Prussians). On the 31st October, Blanqui, who was then still in Paris, made an attempt to set up a more efficient government, but the events on the battlefields did not allow of an internal re-organization. For the armies recruited by Gambetta were also gradually defeated, and it became necessary to start negotiations for an armistice at the end of January, 1871. On the 8th February, a general election to the National Assembly was held ; it yielded a reactionary majority and a reactionary government with Thiers at the head. The Assembly met first at Bordeaux, and then

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at Versailles, whence the struggle against the Paris proletariat was conducted.

On the 26th February, the peace preliminaries were announced, which, owing to the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine, were regarded by the whole of France as an unheard-of humiliation, and raised feeling to a pitch of feverish excitement. Particularly was this the case in Paris.

The Paris National Guard, which was created for the maintenance of public order, and consisted of many radical and proletarian elements, and possessed its own artillery, formed at the end of February, a central committee, which, after the Versailles Government, under Thiers, had made an unsuccessful attack on the Paris artillery on Montmartre, adopted an attitude of hostility towards the Versaillese, and on the 18th March, 1871, proclaimed Paris to be an autonomous commune. The central committee transformed itself into a provisional government, that is, into a dictatorship, but only eight days later (26th March), it appealed to the general suffrages of Paris, that is, it returned its power to the hands of the sovereign people of Paris, which gave itself a democratic administration.

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As a democratic municipal administration the Paris Commune lasted from the 26th March until its final defeat at the end of May.

It was, therefore, no dictatorship, for it proceeded from a proper democratic franchise and formed a coalition administration, composed of members of the International, Blanquists, Proudhonians, middle-class Republicans, and disillusioned patriots. The Commune would have remained a dictatorship, if the executive committee appointed by the National Guard had retained its power until the end, and had not appealed to the general suffrage. This fact is important for the recognition of historical truth. The Commune was a coalition administration, and consequently was unable to achieve unanimity with regard to objects and policy. Very considerate, but clear enough, is Marx's reproach of the Executive Committee on account of its democratic conscientiousness and its appeal to the electors :

“ The Central Committee made themselves guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching upon Versailles, then completely helpless. Instead of this, the Party of Order was again allowed to try

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its strength at the ballot box on the 26th March, the day of the election of the Commune. Then in the mairies of Paris they exchanged bland words of conciliation with their too generous conquerors, muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due time." ("Civil War in France.")

And to his friend Kugelmann (Hanover), Marx then wrote that the Executive Committee had made two mistakes which might lead to a defeat. The first mistake was that, after the unsuccessful attack of the Versailles troops on Montmartre, the Executive Committee had not directed the Paris National Guard to march against Versailles, in order to seize the members of the Government. "The second mistake: the Executive Committee surrendered its power too soon to make room for the Commune. Again out of excessive conscientiousness." ("Neue Zeit.," Vol. 20. 1, p. 709).

These are mistakes which the French proletariat made in 1848, and the German proletariat in 1918—19. In both cases the victorious revolution surrendered its dictatorial power, and appealed to the democratic

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suffrage far too quickly. And in both cases socialism was eventually defeated.

The thoughts of bloody revenge which the Party of Order cherished in their hearts on the 26th March, 1871, in executing the democratic franchise conferred on them by the victors were realized in the most horrible fashion at the end of May. The defeat of the Commune was followed by the merciless slaughter of the Communards and the banishment of all suspected elements. The French bourgeoisie banned the socialist spectre for about a decade. Not until the eighties could socialism again be revived in France. In 1889, the Second International was founded in Paris.

IX

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM (1880—1914)

I. THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF IMPERIALISM

UPON the war period between 1854 and 1879, during which the German and the Italian people as well as the United States of America in the main won their national unity, and during which the South and West Slav peoples entered the national liberation struggle, there followed an industrial-imperialist epoch, which tended to draw all the nations and kingdoms of the earth into its orbit. Africa was explored, partitioned and spanned with rails and telegraph wires; the whole of Asia was awakened by the shrill voice of the locomotive and steam engine from its mediæval, mystical dreams and trances; railways traversed the prairies of North America, leading to the migration of peoples to its virgin West, and facilitating the exploitation of its agri-

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cultural soil, its coal, metal, and petroleum mines. It seemed as if humanity's sole task was creating wealth, accumulating material goods. A glance at the statistical development of coal and iron production, the most important prime materials of modern industry, shows this sufficiently.

Coal Output (in tons) :

	1880	1913
England	147,000,000	292,000,000
France	19,400,000	41,000,000
Germany	59,000,000	277,000,000
U.S.A.	70,500,000	517,000,000

Crude Iron (in tons)

	1880	1913
England	7,780,000	10,400,000
France	3,070,000	5,300,000
Germany	5,120,000	19,400,000
U.S.A.	3,840,000	31,500,000

Population :

	1880	1913
Europe	315,000,000 (?)	419,000,000
U.S.A.	51,000,000	105,000,000 (?)

The revolutionary rôle of steam and mechanics was gradually usurped by electricity and chemistry. The economically pre-eminent rôle of England, which had been almost undisputed until about 1880, gradually passed to Germany and North America.

Meanwhile, the inherent tendencies of capitalist life manifested themselves in drastic fashion in the industrial countries :

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1. The rapidly growing productivity of labour in conjunction with the unregulated and uncontrolled manner of creating goods and the proletarianization of the masses, created a big disproportion between supply and demand, which from time to time led to industrial crises. Business stagnation, unemployment, depreciation of the value of goods showed everybody that the brilliant triumphs of capitalism had their dark sides. Hence the impulse to extend the export markets.

2. The increasing employment of mechanical power and machinery diminished the amount of living labour, and, therefore, the quantity of value in every commodity; this tendency expressed itself in the fall in prices of industrial commodities; the less value there is embodied in a commodity, the smaller is the surplus value or the profit which it yields to the capitalist. Whence arises the tendency to a falling rate of profit, which manifests itself in normal times in all industrial countries and presents a very difficult problem to the employers. The solution of the problem consists in the extension of the undertaking, the transition to large-scale production in an ever-expanding measure, so as to increase the total amount

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of profits through mass production and mass exports. This transition can only be effected by employers possessed of ample capital. Those employers who lack these resources either go under or transform themselves into joint-stock companies. Mass production necessitates enormous quantities of raw materials, which, so far as Europe and Japan are concerned, are only to be had from oversea countries, from the sub-tropics and tropics. This explains the scramble for overseas possessions: colonial policy, naval and military armaments, extension of the national power to foreign territory, diplomatic tensions, and wars.

3. The extension of the scale of production, which is the consequence of the fall in the rate of profit, leads to the triumph of the large-scale production and to the accumulation of enormous profits in a few hands.

The capital which could find no employment, or no profitable employment in its country of origin, is invested in non-capitalist or immature capitalist countries, where the rate of profit is still high and the Labour movement still weak. In order to protect the capital there invested, the capitalist States extend their rule to non-capitalist

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or industrially backward States, partly by direct conquest, partly by marking out the territory into spheres of influence, partly by "peaceful penetration" and "mandates." This extension likewise necessitates the building of fleets and military armaments, for the protection and defence of the capital invested and the new economic interests against the natives as well as against rivals.

These processes were the chief causes of modern imperialist policy and of the world war.

Imperialism represents the attempt of the capitalist classes and their spiritual allies, the nationalist and militarist sections, to maintain intact the existing order of things.

2. THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM—KARL KAUTSKY

This transformation of political and economic conditions was also the chief cause of the progress of the socialist movement. Between the years 1880—1914 it experienced an unparalleled expansion. Hardly any civilized country was without its representatives and organizations. It numbered its followers by the million, and everywhere

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it was Marxian principles which formed its theoretical basis.

Just as Germany played the leading part in the old world in technology and industry, in the application of scientific principles and methods to economic processes, so upon the German socialist proletariat devolved the leading part in socialist theory and practice. From Germany came the impulse which revived the French labour movement. The socialist successes in Germany encouraged the handful of English socialists to found a social-democratic organization in London; the Slav countries began to regard German Social Democracy as their model. And at international socialist and labour congresses the German delegation was particularly esteemed. In short, during the four decades from 1875 to 1914 the German Social Democracy stood at the head of the modern labour movement of the world. Its leaders: August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht enjoyed an international reputation.

The theorist of German Social Democracy during the greater part of this period was Karl Kautsky. Prior to his appearance as a Marxist, that is up to 1882, and even

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for some years thereafter, there was little trace of Marxism in Germany. Only Joseph Dietzgen (1887) propagated Marxism, but his writings lacked the easy and popular style and failed, therefore, to win the masses. On the whole the movement drew its doctrines, ideas and sentiments from Lassalle's writings, from the recollections of 1848, from the French literature: many socialists had imbibed the doctrines of Rodbertus or Eugen Dühring; others were at the most acquainted with the publications of the International Working Men's Association, or they based their demands on appeals to ethics and humanity. It was only gradually that Kautsky succeeded in spreading Marxian ideas. Kautsky, a rationalist thinker, possessed of considerable scientific, historical, and economic knowledge, a crystal-clear style, and untiring industry, was born in 1854 at Prague. His father came of a Czech-Polish family and was a painter by profession. His mother was of German-Italian origin and a novelist. While still a schoolboy he came to Vienna, where he attended the grammar school. His first deep impressions were of a nationalist character: his Czech origin brought him into conflict with his

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German school-fellows. Attracted to social problems by the news of the Paris Commune, he read the English economists and sociologists : Mill, Malthus, and Spencer, as well as the French socialists. In 1875 he joined the Socialist Labour Movement, attached himself to the Left Wing, read Marx, and in 1880 published his first book " The Influence of the Increase of Population," which exhibited what was for that time considerable knowledge of Marxian economics. A few years later—after he had collaborated on the Zurich " Social Democrat," he became a Marxist, founded the " Neue Zeit," the first organ for the propagation of Marxism. From 1884 to 1887 he lived in London, as collaborator with Friedrich Engels. 1887—1910 were his best and most fruitful years ; during these two decades he published : *Thomas More*, *Marx's Economic Doctrines*, the *Erfurt Programme* and numerous other pamphlets and articles, which influenced the German and the international socialist movement. After 1910, his essentially rationalist, anti-revolutionary, non-militant disposition, became more and more pronounced and gradually led him to revisionism.

X

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL (1889-1914)

I. SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

DURING the time between the dissolution of the First and the foundation of the Second International, several socialist and trade union congresses were held, but they lacked a uniform character and were not directed by a common purpose. Only in 1889, on the occasion of the Paris Universal Exhibition, were two socialist Labour congresses held, one being convened by the Possibilists (Reformists), and the other by the Marxists, the result of which was the foundation of the Second International.

At this foundation congress the festival of May Day was also fixed.

The Second International held eight congresses: Brussels (1891), Zurich (1893),

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London (1896), Paris (1900), Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1907), Copenhagen (1910), Basle (1912). From 1900 onwards, the headquarters of the Second International was Brussels ; its chairman was E. Vandervelde, and its secretary was C. Huysmans ; every affiliated nation sent two delegates to the bureau, which met from time to time, in order to pass resolutions upon important questions, and to prepare for congresses.

The history of the Second International, on the lines of its most important decisions, falls into three parts : 1, up to, and including, 1896, it was concerned with drawing a clear line of demarcation between socialism and anarchism, and excluding anarchists from the congresses. 2, up to, and including, 1904, the discussions centred around the establishment of the principles of the political class struggle. 3, the last phase was characterized by its efforts to arouse the nations to the growing danger of imperialist wars, and also to determine the attitude of the International to these catastrophic events.

The Second International was only successful in excluding the anarchists.

The results of the discussions at the Zurich and London congresses were formulated in

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Paris in 1900: organizations were only to be admitted which recognized the principles of socialism, and of the political class struggle.

In the second phase (1900-1904), the International laid it down that socialists were not permitted to enter non-socialist governments, except under "extraordinary circumstances." It was thought that this decision settled the question of Ministerialism, which arose in France in 1898, when Millerand entered the Waldeck-Rousseau-Gallifet Ministry, as a consequence of the Dreyfus affair. In accordance with this resolution, Millerand (lately President of the French Republic), was expelled from the Party in 1904. The same fate befell Viviani and Briand in 1906, both of whom subsequently became prime ministers of France. But the admission of "extraordinary circumstances" again opened the door to Ministerialism during the war, and post-war years: Labour and Socialist parties formed coalition governments with the capitalist parties.

The labours of the International with respect to the danger of world war were utterly futile. In spite of all the debates, no binding resolutions for coping with the danger of war were adopted.

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2. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND THE WAR

The Second Labour International, which came into existence in the year 1889, discussed the question of war at each of its congresses. As these congresses assumed an increasingly social-democratic character, their resolutions about war were social-democratic. As from 1900, imperialist and colonial ambitions were designated as the causes of war, instead of national conflicts and arbitrary despotism. Only twice did matters come to a clash between the social-democratic and the syndicalist anti-State tendencies ; at Brussels in 1891, the latter tendency was represented by Domela Nieuwenhuis, in Stuttgart in 1907 by Hervé. On both occasions the social-democratic opinion carried the day. The decisive resolution was that passed at the Stuttgart congress.

The French socialists placed the question of war on the agenda as a result of the Morocco crisis which broke out in the year 1905, and which lit up in a flash the world-war that was preparing. Three tendencies made themselves manifest within the French delegation at the Stuttgart congress : the anti-militarist,

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(now the nationalist) Gustave Hervé advocated the general strike, the proletarian insurrection, as the only answer to an outbreak of war ; Edouard Vaillant and Jean Jaurès defended Hervé's proposal as a last resort ; Jules Guesde considered any agitation against war to be Utopian, as war was an inevitable consequence of capitalism ; the best anti-war propaganda was socialist education.

For the Belgians there spoke Vandervelde, who sympathized with the attitude of Vaillant and Jaurès, for " even the smallest nation has an interest in the maintenance of peace. Our neutrality may not perhaps weigh very much, and our country may serve as a transit country." For the German delegation, Bebel and Vollmar spoke ; both opposed the opinions and proposals of Hervé as impracticable in every respect ; they pointed to the cultural significance of the national idea ; Bebel further emphasized that the excitement produced by the outbreak of war seizes large sections of the population, and puts the opposition to the organization of national defence in an extremely difficult position.

The overwhelming majority of the congress declared for national defence, and for the class

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struggle. " Treachery neither to the fatherland nor to socialism," were the words in which Jaurès summed up the result of the Stuttgart congress at a Paris meeting. (Rappoport, Jean Jaurès' Biographie, Paris, 1915).

This was no doubt the fundamental idea of the great majority, but it does not resolve the contradiction which arises from the fact that, so long as private property, capitalism, and competition prevail, the interests of the various fatherlands do not coincide with the interests of international socialism.

The congress anticipated that this contradiction could only be removed by the victory of the working class of the most important countries. The congress eventually adopted a resolution, which mainly originated from August Bebel, with the exception of the two last paragraphs, which were proposed by Lenin, Luxemburg, and Martoff. The resolution read :

" The Congress confirms the resolutions against militarism and imperialism, passed by previous international congresses, and reaffirms that the struggle against militarism cannot be separated from the socialist class

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struggle as a whole. Wars between capitalist States are, as a rule, the consequence of their competitive struggle in the world market, for it is the aim of every State, not only to secure for itself its markets, but also to conquer new markets, in which process the subjugation of foreign nations and land robbery play a leading part. These wars further arise out of the ceaseless armaments competition of militarism, which is a chief tool wielded by bourgeois class domination in the economic and political subjugation of the working class. Wars are favoured by the prejudices of one nation against another, which are systematically fostered by the civilized nations in the interest of the ruling classes, in order to divert the mass of the people from their own class problems, as well as from the obligations of international class solidarity.

“ Wars are therefore inherent in capitalism ; they will not cease until the capitalist order has been abolished, or until the nations are driven to the abolition of this system by the indignation aroused by the sacrifices in men and money necessitated by the development of military technique and the competition in armaments. In particular, the working

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class, which provides most of the soldiers, and has chiefly to bear the material sacrifices, is the natural opponent of wars, because they are in contradiction to the Labour ideal: the creation of an economic order upon a socialist foundation which realizes the solidarity of nations. Consequently the Congress regards it as the duty of the working classes, and particularly of their representatives in the parliaments, to oppose the causes of armaments by land and sea, and to refuse to supply the means therefor, as well as to aim at educating the youth of the working class in the spirit of the brotherhood of nations and of socialism, and inspiring it with class-consciousness. The Congress sees in the democratic organization of a militia, or citizen army in place of standing armies, an essential guarantee against the possibility of wars of aggression, and a potent factor in the removal of national antagonisms. The International is not in a position to prescribe in a rigid form the action to be taken by the working class against militarism, as this must vary with time and place, and differ from country to country. But it is its duty to strengthen to the utmost, and to co-ordinate the efforts of the working class against

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militarism and war . . . The action of the working class will be all the more successful, in the degree that public opinion is prepared by a ceaseless agitation, and the Labour Parties of the various countries are stimulated by the International. The Congress is convinced, that, under pressure from the proletariat, a serious attempt can be made to replace the lamentable arrangements of governments by arbitration, and to assure to the nations the benefits of disarmament, which will render it possible to employ for the cause of civilization, the enormous outlays in money and energy which are dissipated in military armaments and wars." (1)

" If war threatens to break out, the working classes, and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned, pledge themselves, supported by the comprehensive activity of the International Socialist Bureau, to use their utmost exertions to prevent the outbreak of war by using the means which seem most effective to them, which would naturally vary according to the acuteness of the class struggle and the general political situation.

" If, however, war should break out, they

(1) Essential part of Bebel's resolution.

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pledge themselves to work for its speedy termination, and to exploit with all their strength the economic and political crisis induced by the war to arouse the people, and thereby hasten the abolition of the class domination of capitalism." (1).

The resolutions of the International Congresses of Copenhagen (1910), and Basle (1912), were on the lines of the Stuttgart resolution, the two last clauses being textually embodied.

The war psychosis, which infected the leaders and the masses at the end of July and beginning of August, 1914, proved stronger than the congress resolutions. Only a small section of the socialist Labour movement began gradually to apply the principles of the class struggle. They were adopted thoroughly and vigorously only by the Bolsheviks in Russia. The World War (1914—1918), broke the Second International. Or to put it more correctly: the latter foundered on the still unsolved contradiction between nationalist instinct and socialist-revolutionary reason.

Let us now proceed to sketch the history of the various socialist parties.

(1) Lenin-Luxemburg-Martoff addendum.

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3. GERMANY

Nowhere did the socialist spark ignite so successfully as in Germany. The German working class—until 1871, the Austrian workers co-operated as an organic part of the united German proletariat—showed itself to an increasing degree prepared to fight for socialism.

In the elections to the first German Reichstag (1871), Eisenachers and Lassalleans together received about 102,000 votes, and in 1874, 352,000 votes, the number of socialist deputies increasing from two to ten. The split between the two camps had lasted until the latter date, but their followers pressed for unity, which was brought about in 1875, at a congress of both parties held in Gotha, where the Gotha programme, a mixture of democratic demands, social reforms, and pacifism, was drawn up and accepted. Two years later the Reichstag elections were held; the united Socialist Party polled nearly half a million votes for its candidates, and won thirteen seats in the Reichstag. The numerical successes, however, were accompanied by growing persecutions of the party leaders, editors and agitators, and eventually

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—after two attempts upon the life of the Emperor William I.—the Party was placed under the ban of an exceptional law, recommended by Prince Bismarck in 1878. This legislation brought great confusion upon the socialist organization in the first years, but it could not destroy it. The Party re-organized itself on a secret basis, and gained further support. In the 1887 elections, in spite of the dangers of a Franco-German war, it received 763,200 votes; in 1890, 1,427,128 votes and thirty-four seats. The exceptional law was repealed, and soon afterwards Prince Bismarck was dismissed. In 1891, the Party assembled in conference at Erfurt, subscribed to the Erfurt programme drawn up by Kautsky, which supplanted the Gotha programme which had hitherto been in force.

The Erfurt programme, to which Kautsky wrote a commentary of extreme importance, is Marxian in its theoretical part, and democratic and social-reformist in its practical part; the measures which socialists would have to adopt during the revolutionary period are wholly lacking.

The idea of the revolution, which was sharply emphasized in Marx's criticism of

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the Gotha programme, was missing. In fact the Party emerged from the period of the exceptional law as a democratic and social reform party. The opposition of the "Young Men" (1890—91), was provoked by this situation; was really revolutionary so far as concerned the proletarians who took an active part in it. The opposition was, however, soon crushed by the authority of Engels, Bebel and Liebknecht, and by the cold, but extremely effective eloquence of Ignaz Auer. The revisionist era was slowly dawning, although retarded by the long economic crisis of the first half of the nineties. The revisionist epoch was publicly inaugurated by Georg von Vollmar soon after the repeal of the socialist law; it terminated at the end of the century with Eduard Bernstein. It was promoted by the boom in German industry, which favoured optimism, and was accompanied by a boom in trade unionism. The membership of the free trade unions increased from 238,000 in the year 1890 to well over two millions in the year 1914, ⁽¹⁾ its leaders, Karl Legien, Robert

⁽¹⁾ There was also a considerable increase in the membership of the Christian Trade Unions: from 5,000 in 1890 to 218,000 in 1914.

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Schmidt, Paul Umbreit, were essentially revisionist. Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring, and Rosa Luxemburg took up the fight against revisionism with great energy, but without any practical success. A great contradiction, of which the party comrades were not always aware, yawned between theory and practice. In the fixed articles of faith and at the conferences—especially the notable Dresden conference of 1903—the proletarian-revolutionary tendency triumphed, but from the standpoint of the daily labours of the Party, the whole idea of German Social Democracy consisted in the introduction of a parliamentary method of government and in the furtherance of social legislation.

Revisionism, together with nationalist sentiment, was victorious along the whole line, and filled the working class with mistrust of revolutionary possibilities, as well as with a "practical" sense for the demands of the present. The brilliant party organization, which owed so much to Paul Singer's great administrative talent and capacity for sacrifice, veiled the inner spiritual weakness of the Party. The astonishing boom in German industry and foreign trade, as well as the rapid and almost continuous numerical

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growth of the Party, and of the votes cast for its candidates, favoured revisionism. In the Reichstag elections of 1912, the Party polled over 4,250,000 votes (or 34.8 per cent of the total votes cast), and captured one hundred and ten seats in the Reichstag—a sham parliament, which was without any executive power, and only served the purpose of giving the German races national unity, in addition to voting taxes.

And this purpose it fulfilled. When the World War broke out at the beginning of August, 1914, the overwhelming majority of the German Social Democratic Party felt itself to be an organic part of the nation, and no longer the representatives of a class with interests and ideals diametrically opposed to those of the capitalist order.

4. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Austrian social-democratic movement moved on parallel lines to those of the German movement, except that from its inception in 1867 it suffered far more than the German movement from the persecution of the authorities. Up to 1871 it formed an organic part of the German movement. In

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1869—70 its leaders, Andreas Scheu, Johann Most and Pabst, were arrested in Vienna, in consequence of a large Labour demonstration, and condemned to five years' hard labour, but after a few months they were released. After 1871—after the separation of Germany from Austria—the Austrian movement became weaker, and was further affected by the financial and economic crisis which had been raging since 1873, and which impoverished the workers still more. The movement split into a radical and a moderate section, and failed to regain unity until 1888, although the German example of the unity of the Lassalleans, and the Eisenachers at Gotha in 1875, ought to have favoured the establishment of a united party in Austria, and although the Austrian Government followed the German example, and in 1877—78 placed the socialists under an exceptional law. The disunion was rendered worse by the appearance of anarchists who pursued terrorist tactics and won support among the embittered workers.

It was only the influence of Victor Adler (died 1918), which brought the workers together in 1886, and two years later unity was achieved at the Hainfeld conference.

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Since then the Party has made considerable progress, although there has been no lack of friction between the various nationalities. The Party laboured systematically to educate the masses: demonstrations, meetings, the Press, and educational classes, made the Austrian proletariat, composed as it was of various national elements (Germans, Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs), one of the best-disciplined sections of the Second International. The Vienna working class was the only working class which celebrated the festival of May Day, according to the Paris Resolution of 1889, by ceasing work. It was the Party also which, by ceaseless agitation, compelled the Austrian Government to grant manhood suffrage in 1907. At the elections which were held on the basis of this achievement, the Party polled 1,042,000 votes, and sent eighty-seven deputies to the Parliament. The Party was also relatively rich in intellectuals, among whom were Otto Bauer, Rudolf Hilferding, Gustav Eckstein, Karl Renner, Max Adler. With respect to tactics, the Party was hardly distinguishable from its German brother party, except that revisionism was not so pronounced, as the constitutional conditions

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in Austria were even less calculated to facilitate a peaceful proletarian victory, and as the position of the Austrian working class was less favourable than that of the Germans.

Owing to the impotence of the Imperial Council (Parliament) in foreign affairs, the Austrian Social Democracy was unable to exercise any constitutional pressure upon Austrian diplomacy in favour of a reasonable policy towards Serbia and in favour of the maintenance of peace.

In Hungary the movement was very much the same as in Austria, except that the anarchist-terrorist elements were lacking there.

The Labour movement originated in 1867, but progress was gravely hindered by its illegal position. In spite of all struggles and sacrifices, however, neither a popular franchise nor the legalization of trade unions could be obtained in the pre-war period. The Hungarian proletariat had no cause to shed tears when the old order disappeared.

5. GREAT BRITAIN

After the collapse of Chartism in 1855, the English working class applied itself with great determination to the organization of the trade

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unions and co-operative societies. The part it played in the First International was only sporadic and formed merely an episode. Not until the year 1882 did a socialist movement become perceptible. Its pioneer was Henry Mayers Hyndman, a well-to-do, educated, but nationally prejudiced Englishman (1842—1921), who sought out Marx in 1880, after having read the French translation of "Capital." In 1882 he founded the Democratic Federation, which at first had a social reform programme, but later adopted the name of Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) and a socialist programme. The organization carried on much agitation, spread Marxian doctrines, led unemployed demonstrations, but in spite of all did not succeed in gaining any influence and support in Labour circles. With Hyndman there worked Belfort Bax, William Morris, and Eleanor Marx, a daughter of Karl Marx, who in fact left the S.D.F. after a few years and founded their own organization, "The Socialist League," but returned to the S.D.F. after the League had fallen into the hands of the Anarchists. Besides the S.D.F. the Fabian Society was established in 1884, and conducted a social reform propaganda.

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Its most important representatives were Sidney Webb, Beatrice Webb, and G. Bernard Shaw. The Fabian theory is revisionist: Socialism is no remote objective, but a progressive series of measures of reform to be carried out and applied by parliamentary and constitutional means. In democratic countries recognition of the necessity of these measures is to be secured by influencing public opinion, especially the educated classes, by means of written and oral propaganda. The Fabian Society was not clear about the necessity of a Labour Party. Its principles did not imply such a necessity. In the best case, the Fabians regarded the existence of an independent Labour Party as a bogey with which to frighten refractory politicians opposed to social reform.

The Fabians, however, have greatly contributed to the spread of critical and constructive social ideas, and their influence has always been friendly to Labour.

Meanwhile a decade had passed away since the foundation of the S.D.F. without its leaders having succeeded in creating a socialist Labour Movement and making the trade unions class-conscious organizations.

This failure of the S.D.F. caused Scottish

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and Northern Labour and Socialist leaders to create a new organization, with the object of impregnating the trade unions with the socialist spirit and detaching the workers from the bourgeois parties. The man who represented this idea was the miner, James Keir Hardie (1856—1915). He and his friends succeeded in 1893 in founding the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), and bringing it into close contact with many trade union leaders.

Keir Hardie's projects were furthered by the legal actions against the trade unions, whose existence was threatened. In this danger the workers were to an increasing extent inclined to resort to independent political action. In 1900 the Labour Party came into existence, and quickly became a party with millions of members, as all the great English trade unions gradually became affiliated to it. The Labour Party is a great trade union and social reform party, which has already absorbed the idea of independent policy, and is now assimilating socialist ideas to an ever-increasing extent. In addition to most of the trade unions, the S.D.F., the Fabians, and the I.L.P., are also affiliated to the Labour Party, which since Keir Hardie's death has been led by J. Ramsay MacDonald,

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a skilful writer and orator, a moderate socialist, but strongly tinged with liberalism. The party membership grew from 376,000 in the year 1900 to 1,612,000 in the year 1914, and was represented in Parliament by seventy members. Since then the pace of growth of the Party has become rapid, of which more later. At the outbreak of war a large part of the S.D.F., almost the whole of the Fabian Society, and the Labour Party, placed themselves at the disposal of the war government. Only the I.L.P. held aloof from the war tumult.

6. FRANCE

The first signs of the resurrection of the French Labour Movement, after the Commune defeat, were already perceptible in 1876, when the workers organized in trade unions met for a conference at Paris.

At the same time, Jules Guesde (1846—1920), started contributing socialist articles to the newspaper “Droits de l’homme.” He continued his activity as chief editor of “Egalité,” entered into relations with the German Social Democracy, and eventually with Marx and Engels. His efforts were

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seconded by Paul Lafargue (1840—1913), a son-in-law of Marx. The return of the Communards from exile and the release of the old Blanqui from prison (1879), while contributing to the revival of the socialist movement, also led to a dissipation of energy over several organizations. In 1880—1881 there arose the Parti Ouvrier Français (French Labour Party), the programme of which was drawn up by Guesde and Lafargue, with the assistance of Marx. In 1882 the reformist elements, led by Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon (1841—1893), came out of the P.O.F. and founded a special organization; their members were called “Possibilists,” because they held that it was possible to effect the emancipation of the workers through reforms, that is, without revolution. The Possibilist Party lasted until 1899, and other socialist organizations, under the leadership of Jean Allemane, and then the Blanquists, under the leadership of Edouard Vaillant (1840—1917), also came into existence. Moreover, since 1893 there had been an organization of independent socialists (Millerand, Viviani, Briand, Augagneur, Jaurès). In national and municipal elections the various socialist candidates opposed each other as rivals, and

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split the socialist electorate. Socialist disunion, in conjunction with the old Proudhonian and anarchist traditions, stimulated the anti-parliamentary tendency among the revolutionary workers, so that at the beginning of the twentieth century the French socialist movement presented a sorry picture, all the more so as the confusion engendered by the Dreyfus case had exercised a disintegrating effect upon the movement, in which only Jaurès loomed large as a centripetal force. It was not until after the Amsterdam International Congress (1904), at which the Dresden class struggle resolution was adopted as a standard, that these groups were united into a homogeneous party, which was held together by the great oratorical talent of Jean Jaurès (1859—1914), and attained to a certain amount of importance in France.

The consequence of this unity was the expulsion of Millerand, Viviani and Briand from the Party, as they refused to repudiate ministerialism (the entry of socialists into capitalist governments), which the Amsterdam-Dresden resolution aimed to make impossible. The United Socialist Party then made considerable headway. At the national elections of 1906 it polled 877,800 votes,

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and elected fifty-four deputies; in 1910, about 1,100,000 votes and seventy-six deputies; in 1914, about 1,400,000 votes and one hundred and ten deputies. ⁽¹⁾.

Then came the war: on the 31st July, 1914, Jaurès was treacherously murdered by a nationalist. The socialist leaders, Guesde and Sembat, entered the Government; Vaillant agitated for the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of the Entente. The Party showed itself strongly nationalist.

In the period 1892—1908 the French trade union movement, which was known by the name of "syndicalism," was of greater theoretical importance than the Socialist Party. According to French law, trade unions were illegal organizations before 1884. Not until 1884 were they made legal, and afforded the opportunity of development. In 1886 the National Association of Trade Unions was founded, which pursued political as well as trade union and social-revolutionary aims. Aristide Briand played a great part at the congresses of the Association, where he advocated the general strike as the means for the emancipation of

⁽¹⁾ In the 1919 elections the Party polled about 1,730,000 votes (including those of Alsace-Lorraine).

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the proletariat (1892). As those workers who were inclined to anarchist-communism considered that the Association paid too much attention to politics, a rival organization, called the Association of Labour Exchanges, and led by Ferdinand Pelloutier, an intellectual anarchist-communist, came into existence in 1892. Pelloutier was the real founder of syndicalism.

In 1895, friendly relations were established between the two organizations, from which arose the *Confédération générale du travail* (C. G. F. General Confederation of Labour), in which both Associations were eventually (1902) absorbed. Under the influence of Pelloutier, Hubert Lagardelle and Georg Sorel, the latter being a scholar of note, the theory of syndicalism arose, which united the idea of the class struggle and the Marxian conception of history with the philosophy of Bergson and the anti-State doctrines of Proudhon: abolition of the wage system, development of the class struggle, expropriation of the capitalist class by revolutionary struggles, and the general strike, the taking over of production by the trade unions, in order to dispense with and render superfluous the State, which, together with democracy,

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militarism, patriotism, is only a means of deception, enabling the bourgeoisie to keep the proletariat in material and mental subjection.

The doctrines and actions of syndicalism had many opponents in the C.G.T. so that it was impossible to reach unanimity there. Moreover, the membership of the C.G.T. before the war was never stronger than about half a million. But it had great enthusiasm and energy, and agitated in favour of anti-militarism; in the course of its struggles, it met with the severest persecutions at the hands of the prime ministers, Clemenceau and Briand, its erstwhile professor of the general strike. After 1909, the syndicalist agitation and influence began to decline, and at the outbreak of war the great majority of the C.G.T. were for the Union sacrée (civil peace); their organ "Bataille," which originally propagated the class struggle, became an organ of the war of French imperialism with German imperialism. The struggle of the Bakunists with Marx in the First International, and the expulsion of the anarchists from the Second International, served the "Bataille" to fan the war flames against Germany: the last

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Bakunist, Professor Guillaume, published in the "Bataille" during the first months of the war, and shortly before his death, a series of articles entitled: "Karl Marx, the Pan-German," whereas the Dutch anarchist, Cornelissen, who had been compelled to leave the Second International in consequence of the resolution of the London International Congress (1896), wrote for the "Bataille" anti-German and war-inciting articles which would have been worthy of the "Action Française."

7. ITALY

The modern Italian Labour Movement arose in 1867, under the influence of the International Working Men's Association, Sections were founded in Milan, Florence, Naples, Catania, but on the occasion of the split in the International, they made common cause, under the leadership of Andrea Costa and Carlo Caffiero, with the Bakunist tendency. From the outset they were exposed to bitter persecutions from the authorities, and they made great sacrifices for their convictions. Gradually the movement overcame anarchism; the Marxian doctrines penetrated; firmer Labour organi-

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zations came into existence, which eventually fused into a homogeneous Labour party at the Genoa congress of 1892, and at the following congress at Reggio Emilia in 1893 adopted the name of Italian Socialist Party. Even Costa joined it. The most eminent leaders were Filippo Turati and Enrico Ferri. The development of the party, its press, and its literature, then went rapidly ahead. In 1892, the Party was able to register considerable success at the parliamentary elections ; it polled 26,000 votes and elected six deputies ; in 1897, 135,000 votes and sixteen deputies ; 1904, 175,000 votes and thirty-two deputies ; 1913, 883,000 votes and fifty-two deputies. But the Party, exposed both to German and to French influences, had to suffer from revisionism as well as from anarchist-syndicalism, all the more so as the Italian Party counted in its ranks a relatively large number of intellectuals, and was, therefore, accessible to all theoretical controversies and tactical tendencies. Bissolati, Bonomi, Canepa, formed the extreme right ; Arturo Labriola (son of the Marxist and Professor Antonio Labriola), Leone, and Orano, represented anarchist-syndicalism, Turati, Treves, Mussolini and Ferri formed the centre,

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in the order from right to left. The war with Tripoli—part of the prologue to the World War—was the turning point in the history of the Party: a violent imperialist wave surged through many comrades. Nevertheless at the Modena Congress of 1911, the war enthusiasm was quenched, and a year later the war supporters—among them Bissolati and Bonomi—were expelled from the Party. These incidents stood the Party in good stead at the outbreak of the World War. The Party declared for neutrality, and excluded the interventionists—among them, Benito Mussolini, who succumbed entirely to the war psychosis, and became a fanatical nationalist and the creator of fascism.

8. RUSSIA AND POLAND

The modern Socialist Labour Movement of Russia started at the beginning of the eighties, but it was not the first revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire. The struggle against Czarist absolutism became perceptible soon after the Napoleonic wars, although at first in a sporadic fashion. The most important attempt in the course of this struggle was that of the so-called Decembrists

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(1826), ⁽¹⁾ among whom Pestel and Ryleeff distinguished themselves, partly by their republicanism, partly by their agrarian reform proposals. Both were executed. Then came the period in which Saint-Simonian and Fourierist ideas found admission into Russian literature (1830—1850).

The most eminent social-revolutionary writer of this time was Alexander Herzen, who was originally active in Moscow, and perceived that the struggle against Czarism ought to coincide with that for socialism; his standpoint, however, was that of a vague socialistic land reformer.

His principal achievement consisted in publishing "Kolokol" (The Bell), which was started in 1857 in London and was smuggled into Russia, where it exercised a political revolutionary influence. He was succeeded as editor by Bakunin (after 1869). Both had lived and agitated abroad since the forties. Interest in social questions was also cultivated in St. Petersburg in 1849 by a number of intellectuals, among whom was

⁽¹⁾ The Decembrists consisted of members of the higher nobility and officers, who planned a revolt for December, 1825, but were betrayed, their leaders being executed on the 25th July, 1826. A large number of Decembrists were banished to Siberia.

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Dostoievski. They were betrayed, arrested, and condemned to death or to long terms of penal servitude in Siberia.

At the end of the fifties, the economist Tschernyshevsky (1829—1889) and the eminent literary critic Dobroljubov were writing on democratic and social reform lines in the periodical "Sovremjennik" (The Contemporary).

The former was arrested, and after awaiting trial for two years, during which he composed his famous novel "What's to be done?" was condemned to seven years' penal servitude. In this atmosphere, which was further intensified by the problems of the emancipation of the peasants in 1861, there arose secret societies, which were to win freedom and the land for the people by fighting. This was followed by the period of enlightenment of natural scientific positivism and the so-called political nihilism. The influence of the First International also made itself felt among the Russian students through Bakunin's secret "Alliance."

In 1873 Marx's "Capital" was translated into Russian by Lopatin.

In the seventies the influence of modern socialism was gaining ground; its most

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eminent spokesman at that time was Lavrov (1823—1898). Meanwhile industry was developing; in 1870 strikes broke out in St. Petersburg. The socialist intelligentsia, which had hitherto directed its attention to winning the peasants, gradually turned towards the proletariat, which it goes without saying did not come to pass without profound controversies about the significance of the Russian village commune (Mir) and the domestic and handicraft co-operative associations (Artels).

Many socialists championed the view that it would not be necessary for Russia to pass through the stage of industrialization and proletarian struggles in order to reach socialism, which could be grafted on to the present co-operative associations, whilst others argued that the Mir was doomed to disappear, and that Russia, like Western Europe, would have to develop an industry and create a proletariat before she could carry out the process of socialization. The former were, therefore, agrarian socialists, with a firm belief in the socialist soul of the Russian peasants; the modern socialists, on the other hand, turned more and more to the nascent proletariat, in order to imbue

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it with class-consciousness and give it organized strength.

The propaganda in the villages remained practically futile, while secret fighting organizations arose among the workers, which in 1882 assumed a social-democratic character, under the leadership of Plechanoff (died 1919), P. B. Axelrod and Vera Sassulitsch.

By the side of these agrarian and proletarian-socialist tendencies, terrorist organizations, led by students and intellectuals, arose in the seventies, which aimed at intimidating and eventually disorganizing the Government by means of outrages. The terrible persecutions to which all freedom associations were exposed had filled many fighters with the conviction, that, without the destruction of absolutism and its cruel instruments, Russia would never be able to attain to any freedom. In 1876, there arose the revolutionary association "Land and Freedom," then the powerful "Narodnaja Wolja" (popular freedom), which was carried on with extreme determination, and the executive of which consisted of Scheljaboff, Michailoff and Sophia Perofskaya.

Several high dignitaries were removed as a result of successful attempts by members

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of this organization, and finally Czar Alexander II. was slain by Hrynewjezki, on the 1st (13th) March, 1881. The activity of the Narodnaja Wolja (1879—1881) had actually exercised a demoralizing influence upon the State machinery ; but the Executive Committee had committed the blunder of not having taken such an eventuality into consideration and had prepared no constructive measures. After the successful bomb attempt on Alexander II. such was the confusion in Government circles, that, if it had made cautious preparation, the Executive Committee would have probably been able to take over the Government and to complete the political revolution, for the liberal elements in Russia were sympathetic towards the activity of the Narodnaya Volja.

This sin of omission heavily revenged itself : the members of the Executive Committee were tried and executed ; Alexander II. was followed by Alexander III., a brutal despot, intellectually dominated by the arch-reactionary Pobyedonostzeff.

The reign of Alexander III. (1881—1894), is, at the same time, the turning point in the socialist history of Russia. The intellectuals as representatives of the social-

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revolutionary movement fall into the background—the anarchist-communist, Peter Krapotkin (1842—1920), survived from this period into our own time—the proletariat, on the other hand, took over the mission of transforming the Russian Empire. At the foundation congress of the Second International in Paris in 1899, Plechanoff and Lavrov represented the Russian Labour movement, and they were able to summarize their report in the words: “The revolutionary intelligentsia of Russia could accomplish nothing against Czarism, as they were separated from the mass of the people. The Russian revolutionary movement will only triumph as a Labour movement.” In the following decade the industrialization of Russia proceeded without interruption, stimulated by foreign capital investments and by military armaments. At the end of the century, great strikes broke out in St. Petersburg. In 1898 the Russian Social-Democratic Party was formed out of the various Labour organizations, but two tendencies soon became manifest in the new party, which since the 1903 congress were known as Bolsheviki and Mensheviki.

At the congress held in Geneva, the section

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led by Lenin, captured the majority, which means in Russian *bolschinstwo*, while the section represented by Martov and Axelrod. remained in the minority (*menschinstwo*). This was the origin of the names by which the Russian socialist parties have been known ever since. During the first Russian Revolution of 1905, which broke out in consequence of the Russian defeat suffered in the war against Japan, the two sections came together, but this union did not last long. The Menshevists are on the whole evolutionists and regard the revolution only as the final term to a long process of capitalist development; the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, regard the revolution as a lever for the acceleration of evolution. In the Imperial Duma, the sole result of the 1905 revolution, there was also a Labour party, in which the Menshevists had the majority. In the Labour organizations, however, the Bolshevik influence predominated. The Party also maintained schools abroad, where the most gifted Russian workers were sent for revolutionary education.

One of the most energetic sections of the Russian Social Democracy was the Jewish League, which came into existence about

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the middle of the nineties, and consisted of Jewish male and female workers of Lithuania and part of Poland.

In addition to the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, a Social-Revolutionary Party of Russia (S.R.R.), which supported agrarian socialism and propaganda by deed, had been in existence since 1901.

It was never a mass movement, but a remnant of an old revolutionary formation, and was saturated with nationalist Russian sentiments and theories.

At the outbreak of war the S.R.R., together with Krapotkin, Plechanoff, as well as their personal supporters, adopted the patriotic attitude, while the Bolsheviks and most of the Mensheviks preserved the international standpoint.

Prior to the eighties the socialist movement of Poland was closely bound up, both intellectually and organically, with that of Russia. In Poland, too, there was a Utopian brand of socialism, and an agrarian-socialist and a terrorist period. Among the leading members of the St. Petersburg organizations, "Land and Freedom" and "Narodnaya Yolya," were a number of extremely energetic Polish students; the

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Poles also regarded Hryniewjezki as one of themselves. In 1878 the Polish organization, "Proletariat," was founded, in which Kunitzki (a former executive member of the "Narodnaja Wolja"), distinguished himself by great conspiratorial talent, and Ludwig Warynski, S. Mendelsohn, and S. Dickstein, by their knowledge of socialism. Most of the pioneers of the first period died a martyr's death, suffered long terms of imprisonment or succumbed in exile. Gradually the international standpoint was lost sight of, and the movement became nationalist; in 1892 the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partya Socyalistyczna—P.P.S.) was founded, which to an increasing extent associated the idea of the resurrection of Poland with social reform. In course of time the P.P.S. became the champion of the nationalist idea among the masses, and fell into opposition towards Russian and German socialists. It perceived in the War a means for the liberation, first of Russia, then of Germany and Austria. Out of its ranks came Dashinski and Pilsudzki, who formed the Polish legion and advocated the continuation of the war to the bitter end.

The P.P.S. was actively opposed by Rosa Luxemburg, who started an opposition

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organization, the Social Democracy of Russian-Poland (1893), in order to combat the "social patriots," as Rosa Luxemburg soon described the P.P.S. She did not succeed in detaching the Left Wing of the P.P.S. until 1906, which then constituted itself as an independent party. Not until the war did it join the Social Democracy, and soon afterwards both sections espoused communism.

9. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In this chapter we are not concerned with the communist colonies founded by heretics, sectaries, and humanitarians in North America. Some of them were dealt with in Part III. of this work ("Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners"). There remains to be mentioned Brook Farm (at Boston), which was maintained from 1841 to 1847 by American Fourierists, chiefly scholars and writers: Dr. Channing, Hawthorne, Ripley, Dana, etc.

Brook Farm also belongs to a period that is past in the history of socialism. Here we are concerned with the modern socialist movement, whose pillar is the proletariat. It arose in America in the third quarter of

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the nineteenth century; its founders were German communists who had left their native land after 1848 in order to create a new home, a new sphere of activity in America. Apart from Wilhelm Weitling, who occupied a position midway between Utopian socialism and proletarian socialism, based on the class struggle, those who performed the pioneer work for socialism were friends and disciples of Karl Marx. We may mention Josef Weydemeyer, Hermann Meyer, F. A. Sorge, Josef Dietzgen. The representatives of communist thought were at first the German Gymnastic Club. The formation of an American section of the First International likewise contributed to the spread of socialism. In 1877 the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" was founded, and in the same year the Socialist Labour Party.

This movement was reinforced by German immigration, which was caused by the German Socialist Law (1878), but which also brought anarchist and Lassallean elements to America. The tireless Johann Most, who had been an active revolutionist in Austria, Germany, and England since the end of the sixties, also came to America, where he spread anarchist-terrorist ideas.

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In 1886 a demonstration in connection with a strike was held in Chicago, when a bomb was thrown at the police, which led to the arrest and prosecution of the communists August Spies, A. R. Parsons, Louis Lingg, Georg Engel, Samuel Fielden, Adolf Fischer, Oskar Neebe and Michael Schwab. Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Engel were executed on the 11th November, 1887, Lingg having ended his life the previous day. 1886 and 1887 were also remarkable for the land agitation of Henry George in New York and the publication of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward from the year 2000." George's agitation, which was inaugurated in 1879 by his book "Progress and Poverty," met with a considerable response in Great Britain. Bellamy's book, which was translated into all civilized languages, promoted the spread of socialist ideas everywhere; it exhibited the miracles of modern technology in the service of a socialized community. In the eighties the S.L.P. was joined by American elements, among whom was Daniel de Leon, a New York university lecturer, and the journalist Lucien Sanial, both strict Marxists and tireless propagandists, who opposed any sort of compromise.

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De Leon, however, made the mistake of trying to create a proper socialist trade union movement, instead of aiming at the permeation of the general trade union movement by socialist ideas. In opposition to the General Federation of Labour, he founded the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the object of which was to impart a socialist direction to the trade union movement, and to replace craft unions by the organization of industrial unions. The American trade union leaders seized the agitation of De Leon as a pretext for telling the workers that the socialists were opposed to trade unionism. Moreover, most of the German elements of the S.L.P. were opposed to De Leon's tactics and conducted their opposition in the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," while De Leon propagated his own opinions in the weekly "People."

The opposition came out of the S.L.P. and in 1901 founded the Socialist Party of America, which made good progress until 1920, whereas the S.L.P. declined. The votes cast for the two parties at the Presidential Elections were :

Year	S.L.P.	S.P.A.
1904	31,249	402,283
1908	13,824	420,713
1912	29,259	897,011
1920	31,175	915,412

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In the years 1903—1905 a syndicalist trend of thought was to be observed in the United States. Remarkably enough it arose there among the German trade union of brewery workers. In 1905, De Leon and his friends founded the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), a trade union fighting organization, which placed economic action in the forefront, while not rejecting parliamentary action. It soon split, as a section of the I.W.W. held all parliamentary action to be reactionary ; the other section, which remained true to De Leon's programme, called itself the Workers' International Industrial Union. During the war members of the I.W.W. made great sacrifices for their convictions. In September, 1917, ninety-five of their leading members were arrested and condemned to long terms of imprisonment.

XI

REVOLUTION AND THE WAR OF NATIONS (1914-1920)

I. BREAKDOWN OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

THE contradictions and antagonisms which are constantly renewed and progressively accentuated in the bosom of the capitalist order, enkindled in their elemental collisions a world conflagration which the most fantastic imagination of the great myth-creating epoch would have lacked the power to foreshadow or to symbolize.

In July 1842, Heinrich Heine prophesied about world war and world revolution to the second generation coming after him in the following words: "We are menaced with wild and gloomy times, and the prophet who would write a new apocalypse must invent entirely new beasts, which must be so terrifying that by their side the old Johannine

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animal symbols would be sucking doves. . .”

The storm raged throughout the world. The struggle between the Entente (England—France—Russia) and the Dual Alliance (Germany—Austria) begun in August, 1914, became a life and death grapple of the human race.

And in this collapse of a civilization the masses were driven hither and thither without rudder and without anchor, for the Second International, opportunist and without principles, crumbled in the first storm.

At the outbreak of the world war the war-making nations divided themselves not into capitalists and proletarians, but into Allies and Dual Alliance. Inside the war-making countries there prevailed at first the industrial truce; industrial conflicts were avoided; outwardly groups of nations confronted each other as diplomacy had formed them for decades past. The line of demarcation was, therefore, not drawn by the socialist proletarian class struggle, but by capitalist imperialism. The Second International proved unequal to its mission: nationalism and revisionism allied themselves with the existing order and joined the war dance.

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As a part of Belgium was occupied by German troops in August, 1914, the Internationalist Socialist Bureau could not remain in Brussels. The secretary, Huysmans, retired to the Hague, and, in conjunction with the Dutch leaders, formed the bureau, while Vandervelde entered the Belgian Government. Huysmans tried in vain to bring about an international conference; only the neutrals met at Copenhagen in 1917—18, and summoned the socialists of the war-making countries to bring the war to an end. The "allied" socialists held a conference in London on the 17th February and advocated the continuation of the war; only the Bolshevists and Menshevists refusing to take part in the conference. On the 12th and 13th April the German and Austrian socialists were assembled at a conference in Vienna. Gradually it became clear to many socialists that they had gone astray, and had broken faith with their old convictions, and they endeavoured to return to the international standpoint.

The first international signs of the split were the minority conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal: in September, 1915, there assembled at Zimmerwald (Switzerland)

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revolutionary and independent socialists from Russia (Lenin, Zinoviev, Radek), Germany (Ledebour, Hoffmann, etc.), France (Blanc, Brizon, Lorient, etc.) as well as from a few neutral countries, who recommended the application of the principle of the class struggle. A similar conference was held in April, 1916, at Kienthal (Switzerland). At neither conference were English delegates present, as the British Government refused to grant them passports. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution (March, 1917), Huysmans invited the Second International to a conference at Stockholm, but as the French and British Governments refused passports to the delegates, the conference could not be held.

Meanwhile the opposition tendencies were gaining ground in the various war-making countries. In Germany Karl Liebknecht was the first who opposed the industrial and political truce (December, 1914).

He was assisted by Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches and Franz Mehring, who founded the periodical "International" in 1915, and somewhat later the Spartacus League, from time to time circulating 'Spartacus' letters. A year later a split

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occurred in the Social Democratic Party : eighteen members of Parliament, led by Haase, formed the Socialist Labour Union, which in April, 1917, constituted itself the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany. The old S.D.P. was then known as the majority party, the Independents as the minority party. The latter, together with the Spartacus League, aimed at the revolutionizing of minds. In France an opposition tendency likewise became manifest in the party executives, and its leader was Jean Longuet ; for a long time victory remained in the balance, until finally the minority became the majority ; but the French opposition was much less revolutionary than the German Independents, not to mention the Spartacus League. The opposition led by Longuet, however, was not the only one ; on its left a communist tendency was arising. In England a section broke away from the British Socialist Party, championed the international standpoint, and later merged in communism.

In the United States of America the majority of the Socialist Party was opposed to the entry of America into the war. Within the ranks of the majority a communist

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tendency became manifest after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, leading to splits and schisms.

2. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Up to the beginning of 1917 the Russian armies had great successes and defeats to register, the eventual result of which was an incurable weakening of Russia's power to continue the struggle. Blockaded in the Baltic and in the Dardenelles by German and Turkish sea power, Russia could not receive any effective assistance from her allies. There was a collapse in the military, transport, and economic organization, upon which strikes, unrest, insubordination, and finally, revolutionary movements broke out, which led in the middle of March, 1917, to the abdication of the Czar and the setting up of a provisional coalition government. A large part of the army and of the peasants demanded an immediate peace, but the Allies, supported by socialist propagandists from France and Belgium, pressed for the continuation of the war. Kerensky, the head of the Provisional Government, prepared an offensive against the Austrian—German

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—Turkish front in Galicia, which after some initial successes terminated with the total disorganization of the Russian army. In the meantime the Bolshevik tendency was growing within the Russian labour and socialist organizations, and on the 7th November, 1917, the Bolsheviks triumphed all along the line. Within a few weeks a political and agrarian revolution was then consummated in Russia, which few Europeans thought could be lasting. The Bolshevik Government offered the German Imperial Government an immediate peace without annexations, which the latter appeared to accept, but which by cunning, diplomatic subterfuge, and military invasion it sought to transform into a victor's peace. Soviet Russia submitted to the peace of Brest—Litowsk (1. 3. 1918), but the mass strikes of the German workers at the end of January, 1918, as protests against the oppression of the Russians, were ominous for the fate of Germany. Lenin and Trotsky emerged from the Brest—Litowsk negotiations apparently defeated, but the German General Staff and the Imperial Government drove in many piles at Brest—Litowsk for the building of the Versailles Peace Treaty.

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Out of a heap of economic and political ruins, which the Russian Empire presented at the beginning of 1918, Lenin and Trotsky and their collaborators created the Soviet Republic, which has seen Kühlmann, Czernin, Hoffmann disappear into oblivion, which emerged from all the civil wars in the Russian Empire financed and instigated by the Allies: the Czecho-Slovaks, Kornilov, Yudenitsch, Koltshak, Denikin, the Poles, Wrangel and their British and French supporters in the background. Soviet Russia created a firm fulcrum for the international proletariat and a Red army; it placed itself as vanguard in the revolutionary service of the Central and Western European proletariat; it supported every revolutionary movement of emancipation in Europe and Asia, but, in view of the failure and passivity of the Central and Western European proletariat on the one hand, and the class-conscious activity of international capital on the other, it was obliged to curtail the process of socialization that was going on in Russia, and to fall back on State socialism and an invitation to foreign capital.

In order to prepare and discipline the international proletariat for the world revo-

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lution, for which task the Second International proved inadequate, the Bolsheviks founded the Third International in March, 1919, which was intended to stimulate the proletarian organizations to conduct an uncompromising struggle for their immediate daily interests, as well as for the final emancipation through proletarian dictatorship

3. THE THIRD GERMAN REVOLUTION, 1918—19

In August, 1914, the German people entered the World War, and it was not until August, 1918, that it became aware that it no longer had the strength to resist a world of enemies. It succumbed to the crushing superiority of the divergent forces of international capital and the Russian revolution. The German Government and General Staff had succeeded in creating enemies in all camps, and in uniting them against themselves at a given moment. At the end of September, 1918, the military and imperial rule was played out: headquarters pressed for the initiation of armistice negotiations; Count Hertling, the last Imperial Chancellor of old Germany,

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retired ; Prince Max of Baden, supported by the Social Democrats Scheidemann and Bauer, took over the government of a new fermenting Germany, which entered the stage of acute revolution on the 30th October, 1918. The old authorities received their first shock in Kiel, then in Stuttgart, Munich, and on the 9th November in Berlin. The fleet and the army went over to the revolution. Prince Max handed over the imperial chancellorship to Friedrich Ebert, the representative of the S.D.P. The Kaiser abdicated and fled from Headquarters to Holland ; Scheidemann proclaimed the German Republic ; the vacation of the imperial throne involved the overthrow of the remaining German dynasties and autocrats. The revolution triumphed bloodlessly throughout the German Empire, just as it had triumphed in Austria a few days before.

The victory of the revolution was merely the fruit of the military collapse. It then became imperative to consolidate the revolution. Then the dire consequences of the neglect of socialist education in the pre-war period became manifest. During the days of revolution, workers and soldiers councils, upon the Russian model, were

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everywhere formed, but what was lacking in Germany was unity and a collective purpose. The leaders of the S.D.P. who had not wanted any revolution at all, and would have been satisfied with parliamentary government, held the achievement of the democratic republic to be the greatest of all attainable objects, and desired elections to take place for the summoning of a national assembly; a socialization of any of the means of production, the realization of socialism, did not enter into their calculations. The Spartacus League, with Rosa Luxemburg at its head, demanded a proletarian dictatorship, and, therefore, constituted the sharpest opposition to the S.D.P. The leaders of the Independents wavered between democracy and dictatorship, but desired a postponement of the appeal to the electorate. For the rest, the S.D.P. and the Independent Socialists co-operated at the outset (from the 9th November to the 29th December, 1918), and three representatives from each party — Ebert, Landsberg, Scheidemann, Barth, Dittmann, and Haase—formed the provisional government or the Council of People's Commissioners. The lack of unity and of a common purpose eventually favoured

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the S.D.P., which, with its democratic phrases gained the support of many workers and socialists and of a multitude of lower middle class voters. Many members of the bourgeoisie also rallied round the Social Democracy in which they instinctively perceived a bulwark against the social revolution, all the more so as the Provisional Government—after the defection of the three Independent Socialist members—was reinforced by two Right socialists: Noske and Wissell, and embarked on a struggle with the revolutionary Left, aided by the monarchical officers corps.

The three most eminent socialist leaders of the revolution: Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and Kurt Eisner, were murdered, and with them thousands of the best socialist fighters. The French tragedy of 1848 and 1793 was repeated in Germany in the winter and spring months of 1918 and 1919, when moderate social and constitutional reformers led a campaign of extermination against the most energetic elements of the revolution and prepared the way for Hindenburg. The Provisional Government fixed the elections for the 19th January, 1919, when the S.D.P. polled over eleven and a half millions and the Independents over 2.3 millions of votes,

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whereas the Spartacus people abstained from voting. The votes polled by the socialist parties formed about forty-seven per cent. of the total votes cast, and they won one hundred and eighty-five seats in an assembly of four hundred and twenty-one members. As the socialists remained in the minority, they could not, according to parliamentary principles, form a government, and they were forbidden by socialist principles to form a coalition with middle class parties. The socialists would, therefore, have acted logically if they had refused to form a government. But under the circumstances then existing, the middle class parties would not have ventured to steer the ship of State, as the revolutionary waves were still mounting high. The S.D.P., which divided the nation not into classes, but into parties friendly to reform and anti-democratic parties, took over the government together with the Centrists and the middle class Democrats, and assumed great responsibilities without possessing or desiring the power to enforce the measures of socialization demanded by the masses. The S.D.P. ruled, but militarists, the bureaucracy, and Capital governed.

The sole fruit of the Revolution is the

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democratic constitution which was adopted on the 11th August, 1919. This policy of the S.D.P., in conjunction with the continuous pressure exercised by the Entente by virtue of the Versailles Peace Treaty, rendered impossible the re-construction of Germany on a socialist basis.

Many disillusioned socialists turned to the Communist Party (the former Spartacus League), which was still further strengthened by the split in the ranks of the Independents which took place in 1920: a section then went over to the Communists, while the other section joined the S.D.P. in 1922.

4. SOCIAL AGITATION IN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1917 TO 1920

Even for the victorious countries the years 1917 to 1920 were a period of internal agitation, which, had the German Revolution been carried on with vigour, would have led to a transformation in Western Europe. At the French Trade Union Congress held in Clermont-Ferrand (December, 1917), the revolutionary elements gained the upper hand, and held their own congress in March, 1918, at St. Etienne. Great strikes took place

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in France in the early part of 1918; one of the demands of the strikers was an immediate armistice and the abstention of France from any military intervention in Russia. After 1917 the opposition element became stronger also in the Socialist Party, and in 1919 there arose a communist tendency, which carried the affiliation of the Party to the Third International by three thousand two hundred and fifty-two votes to one thousand four hundred and fifty votes at the Tours Congress in December, 1920. The Party then split.

From 1917 onwards strikes broke out in Great Britain, and to some extent assumed a social-revolutionary character. At the Trade Union Congresses the right of the workers to share in the control of production was regularly advocated. The centre of the struggle was the nationalization of the mines, which would have led to a general strike in 1920, if the leaders of the Railwaymen and the Transport Workers had not shirked the struggle at the last minute, fearing that a general strike would actually have signified the inauguration of the social revolution. The ebb of economic action since 1920 had, on the other hand, a strength-

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ening of parliamentary action as its consequence, which brought the British Labour Party considerable successes at the elections of 1922, 1923 and 1924, and even to a short term of governmental office (January—October, 1924).

XII

THE SMALLER PARTIES, (1870-1920).

I. IN EUROPE

DENMARK has one of the relatively strongest movements of the Second International, although the country is still predominantly agricultural. The first attempts at political organization (1871) were suppressed by the police, whereupon the workers founded vocational associations, in which they discussed socialist ideas, albeit Utopian ones. In 1878 the movement was strong enough to establish a party under the name of "Social Democratic Union." As early as 1884 the Danish Social Democracy was able to register successes at the Folkething, but as this had been effected with Liberal assistance, an opposition section arose in the Party, which aimed at preserving the purely proletarian character of the movement. With the exception of the year 1919, however,

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the Left socialist opposition in Denmark has never attained to any importance. The Party is, in fact, a trade union and social reform party, like the German Social-Democratic Party or the British Labour Party. The Press, co-operative movement, and educational institutions of the Danish Social Democracy are organized on model lines. In October, 1916 the Conference resolved to support the Liberal Government in the sale of the West Indian islands to the United States of America. Stauning, the leader of the Danish Social Democracy, was a member of the Government until its fall in March, 1920. At the elections in September, 1920, the Party elected forty-eight members to the Folkething (Chamber of Deputies) and twenty-two members to the Landesthing (Upper House).

The Norwegian Labour Movement was in the beginning under the intellectual influence of the Danish. There, too, the movement became perceptible about 1871; yet it was not until 1887 that there was founded a Norwegian Labour Party, which soon exhibited a Right and a Left wing. The rapid industrialization of Norway which set in after 1905 also revolutionized the

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proletariat, In 1912 the Left Wing organized itself as a special group ; in 1918 it captured the party and the trade unions. The Right wing left the party and in 1920 formed the Norwegian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

In contrast to the Danish movement, which has a trade union and practical character, the Norwegian Labour Movement is dominated by theoretical interests, and has produced a relatively numerous intelligentsia, which is in touch with the entire socialist thought of Western and Eastern Europe.

Sweden received the socialist gospel in 1881 from the tailor August Palm, who had worked in Northern Germany and there became acquainted with socialism. Palm was a genuine apostle ; he traversed the country on foot and everywhere spread the new doctrine. In his footsteps followed the former student Hjalmar Branting (1924), who served the Party as an active journalist since 1885, and in 1886 established the " Social Democrat," which has been published daily since 1890.

In 1889 the Swedish Social-Democratic Party was created. Ten years later it embarked upon a struggle for electoral

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reform, which it eventually extorted by means of the general strike. The Party was able to record great parliamentary successes, but it developed in a revisionist direction, whereupon a revolutionary opposition arose. In 1917 Branting joined the Coalition Government, which lasted until 1920, when it gave way to a purely Socialist Government (with Branting as Prime Minister), which, however, only lived for a few months. The reinforcement of the revisionist tendency in the socialist thought of the Swedish Party led to a sharper attitude on the part of the opposition, and eventually to its breaking away from the Party. In 1917 the Opposition constituted itself as the Left Social-Democratic Party, which, like all Left parties of the northern countries, inclined to communism and is more or less in touch with the Moscow International.

Finland possessed the best organized Labour movement in the world. It arose in 1899, and in 1903 founded the Social-Democratic Party; in the 1907 elections it captured eighty seats (in a parliament composed of two hundred men and women deputies). In 1916 it had the majority, and formed a Socialist-Liberal Coalition Government under

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its member Tokoi. The Russian Revolution and the subsequent Russo-German War inflicted immense suffering upon the Finnish socialists. The Finnish capitalists, supported by the "victorious" German Army, wreaked a terrible revenge on the revolutionary proletariat; thousands of Finnish socialists suffered martyrdom.

In Holland the socialist movement, which had been in evidence since the sixties, suffered from infantile diseases until the early nineties. First of all it fell under the leadership of Domela Nieuwenhuis, a former Lutheran pastor, who was disillusioned by parliamentary action and became an anarchist communist. He was followed by a section of the Labour organizations of the time.

The Dutch Social-Democratic Labour Party was not formed until 1893, under the leadership of Troelstra and Van der Goes. Simultaneously the trade unions were developing, and in 1903, in consequence of a railway strike, they declared a general strike, which involved great sacrifices, but finally failed.

The movement was a long time recovering from this defeat. Under the leadership of Troelstra and Vliegen, it became revisionist

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and lost the intellectuals: Mrs. Roland-Holst, Herman Gorter, etc., who formed a Left Wing Social-Democratic Party in 1909, and after the Russian Revolution went over to communism.

Belgium was for long the paradise of capitalists: parliamentary methods of government, free play of economic forces, a politically apathetic, disfranchised, and clericalized proletariat. An active Labour movement did not arise until 1875. In 1877 the Flemish and the Brabant Socialist Parties were started, and in 1879 they united to form the Belgian Socialist Party. In addition, there were various Labour bodies and co-operative societies. In 1885 they all combined to form the Belgian Labour Party. A year later Labour revolts broke out: elemental explosions which were continued in the attempts of the miners to organize a general strike. The revolts were brutally suppressed. The chief struggle of the Belgian Party centred around the attainment of general suffrage. It resorted to general strikes (1893, 1902, 1913) without being able to achieve its object. Eventually the workers were granted only a restricted franchise, which, however, enabled them to

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be represented in Parliament. But it was only the revolutionary wave of 1918 and 1919, proceeding from Russia and everywhere inspiring the possessing classes with fear, that brought general suffrage to the Belgian proletariat in 1919. At the outbreak of the war, the Party placed itself in the service of the war ; its leader, Emile Vandervelde, president of the Second International, entered the Government. After the termination of the war, Anseele, Destree, and Wauters also entered the Coalition Government, which met with the approval of the Party congress. In 1920 the opposition elements combined to form a communist party.

In the Grütli union, which originated in 1838, Switzerland possessed the nucleus of a modern Labour movement. The Grütlians adopted socialist principles in 1878, but remained strong supporters of Swiss nationalism and social reform. It was only gradually that a Swiss Socialist Party accepting Marxian principles came into being. It numbers about forty thousand members, but is divided into Right and Left Wings. Besides, Switzerland has a Communist Party with five thousand to six thousand

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members. Both parties exercise a certain influence on the internal politics of the Swiss Confederation.

The beginnings of the modern Labour movement of Spain were similar to those of the Italian movement: the movement originated in the time of the First International and came under the anarchist-communist influence of Bakunin, only a small group, led by Pablo Iglesias, remaining social-democratic. Only in 1910 was Iglesias elected to the Cortes (Parliament). At the outbreak of war this group placed itself on the side of the Entente. The economic Labour movement is for the greater part syndicalist.

In Portugal the conditions are similar. The social-democratic movement is insignificant. The economic Labour movement is syndicalist.

In Bulgaria the Social-Democratic Party arose in the year 1894; in 1903 it split into two groups: the "Broads" and the "Narrows," or into reformist and revolutionary. In 1913 the whole party was strong enough to send thirty-seven deputies to the Sobranje. When Bulgaria entered the war, the reformers sided with their fatherland ;

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the "Narrows" remained international, voted against the war credits and suffered many persecutions. After the close of the war the "Narrows" were considerably reinforced, and in 1919 transformed themselves into the Communist Party. Trade unions and co-operative societies are relatively strong.

The Social-Democratic Party of Serbia was founded in 1903; in 1912 it had two deputies in the Skupschtina; it was from the outset Marxist and revolutionary, and voted against the war credits at the outbreak of the war. After the end of the war the revolutionary socialists of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and of the other former Austrian provinces which were absorbed in the Jugo-Slav State, united and formed the Socialist Labour Party of Jugo Slavia—since 1920 known as the Communist Party—on the basis of the Third International. The Party is exposed to great persecution. Besides there is a minority party of reformist socialists.

In Rumania there have been various socialist groups since the eighties. But the very backward constitutional and administrative conditions precluded the formation of a socialist party until the trade union movement—through the boom

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in the petroleum industry—was strong enough to render possible the existence of Labour organizations. After the first Russian Revolution of 1905 and the peasant insurrection of 1907, the socialist groups again came to the front under the leadership of Rakovski, and, together with the trade unions, formed the Social-Democratic Party in the year 1911. The Party was opposed to Rumania's entry into the war. In 1918 a general strike broke out, which led to the ruthless persecution of socialists and trade unionists. On the 13th December, 1918, the Government mobilized a machine gun company against a peaceful, unarmed Labour demonstration in Bukarest; over one hundred workers were shot down by the machine guns. The annexation of the Bukovina, Transylvania, and the Banat to Rumania strengthened the moderate social-democratic elements, which together formed the "Socialist Party of Rumania," whereas the revolutionary socialist organization is known as the Communist Party.

2. IN AUSTRALIA, SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA, ASIA

The Labour Party arose in Australia in 1892 in consequence of unsuccessful strikes

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in 1889—1891. The workers turned with greater energy to political energy, but only formulated a social reform programme for the improvement of the position of the wage workers. The Labour Party became very strong and gained parliamentary victories; in 1910 it had the majority in the Federal Parliament (forty-two members against thirty-three middle-class members), and formed a Labour Government. It also had the majority almost everywhere in the individual States, but the war with its confusions broke up the unity of the Party, which was considerably weakened as a consequence. It appears now to have recovered from these weaknesses and is gaining ground. In New Zealand the political evolution of the workers has followed the same lines as in Australia, except that the Labour Party is more socialistic; compulsory arbitration in industrial conflicts was operative between 1894 and 1905: during this time there were no strikes in New Zealand. Since then the position has considerably altered. The powerful economic development that has been proceeding has given rise to acute class struggles, which cannot be cured by arbitration methods.

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The South African Labour Party was founded in 1909, and won four seats at the 1910 parliamentary elections. The party became particularly strong in the Transvaal, where it gained the majority in 1913. There, too, the war exercised a disintegrating effect on the Party: the majority supported the war, the minority seceded and founded the International Socialist League—a revolutionary organization which, among other things, advocates the fraternal co-operation of the white and coloured workers. So far as it is class conscious, the Labour Movement in South Africa has a hard struggle with the Diamond capitalists.

The South-American Republics : Argentina, Brasil, Peru, Uruguay are countries of the future: economically they are nascent countries. The Labour Parties and their sections are only a partial extension of European organizations, and at the most the nuclei of future socialist bodies. The Labour Movement in the Argentine is relatively the strongest. The Argentine Socialist Party arose in 1896. At the 1914 elections it received forty thousand votes and elected nine deputies. Here, too, a split was brought about by the war: in

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1917 the opposition formed the International Socialist Party, which—like the South African International League—is communist.

As regards Asia the Far East comes into consideration. China finds itself in the throes of the industrial revolution; Labour is awakening and joining the international Labour movement. Capitalism is fulfilling its revolutionary mission, preparing even in the Far East the soil for the seed of socialism. In its chase for profits it revolutionizes its own foundations. The socialist labour movement of Japan likewise merits our attention. Within the last decades Japan has become a modern industrial country. Signs of the awakening of the working class were manifest in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as in 1900 the Japanese Parliament passed an anti-strike law. In 1901 the Japanese Social-Democratic Party was founded by Kotoku and Sen Katajama, but was soon persecuted and suppressed by the authorities. Its place was taken in 1903 by the League of Plebians, a Marxist group, which was revolutionary and, therefore, anti-imperialist: its influence was cast against the Russo-Japanese war (1904). It also suffered the

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fate of its predecessors ; in 1910 a number of socialist leaders, including Kotoku, were condemned to death and executed, after being charged with conspiring against the life of the Mikado. The development of Japanese industry during the World War, together with the Russian Revolution (1917), revived the Japanese socialist and trade union movement, which may look forward to a prosperous future. The social question is also studied with great assiduity in middle class intellectual circles. The East and the West are joining hands in the great movement which is transforming the world.

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